

PLUTARCH's LIVES,

~~that~~ Abridged from the ~~History of~~
~~Bywell~~ ~~Goder~~
ORIGINAL GREEK,

Illustrated with

NOTES and REFLECTIONS,

And embellished with

COPPER-PLATE PRINTS.

VOLUME the SEVENTH.

Containing the LIVES of

M. T. CICERO,		ARATUS,
DION,		GALBA,
MARCUS BRUTUS,		AND
ARTAXERXES,		OTHO.

L O N D O N:

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M DCC LXII.



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THE
LIFE
OF
M. T. CICERO.

AR C US Tullius Cicero was born with the disposition *Plato* requires in a man of learning and a philosopher; for he was naturally inclined to every kind of knowledge. At first he had a peculiar propensity to poetry, and became not only an excellent orator, but one of the most eminent among the *Roman* poets of that age *. On his leaving his puerile studies, he attended the lectures of *Philo* the Academic, who was be-

* There are only a few fragments of his poetical works now extant.

loved by the *Romans* for his goodness, and admired for his eloquence; and he studied the laws of his country under *Mutius Scævola*, an eminent lawyer, and chief of the senate. He then took arms, and for some time served under *Sylla* in the *Marrian* war; but perceiving that the factions in the commonwealth were in danger of producing an absolute monarchy, he returned to a life of retirement, and till *Sylla* had obtained the government, passed his time in study, and in conversing with the most learned *Greeks*.

About this time *Sylla* exposed to sale the estate of a certain citizen, who was murdered as if he had been proscribed, and caused it to be adjudged to *Chrysogonus*, his freedman, for the sum of 2000 drachmas: *Roscius*, the son and heir of the deceased, made loud complaints, and proved that it was worth 250 talents. *Sylla*, greatly enraged at having his actions called in question, prosecuted *Roscius* for the murder of his father, and appointed *Chrysogonus* to manage the evidence. *Sylla*'s cruelty now deterring every one from appearing in the young man's behalf, he had recourse to *Cicero*, who boldly undertook his defence, and carried the cause; for which he was universally admired: but dreading *Sylla*'s resentment, he travelled into *Greece*, under the pretence of going thither for the recovery of his health; for he was extremely lean and slender, and though he had a strong voice, it was harsh, and not mellowed by exercise, so that,

that in the heat of speaking he raised it so high, that there was some reason to fear it might injure his health.

Cicero, on his arrival at *Athens*, became the auditor of *Antiochus* the *Afcalonite*, from his being charmed with the volubility and elegance of his language, and applied himself with the greatest ardour to his studies; for he had resolved, that if he found himself unable to rise at *Rome*, he would spend his life at *Athens* in the tranquil study of philosophy. At length he received the news of *Sylla*'s death. His body, now strengthened by gymnastic exercises, was become firm and robust, and his voice being thoroughly formed, was rendered full, clear, and sweet; he therefore resolved to comply with the solicitations of his friends to engage in public affairs, and to qualify himself, applied to the study of rhetoric, and exercised himself in declaiming; at the same time he attended the most celebrated orators. This induced him to travel into *Asia*, and to *Rhodes*. In that island he studied under *Apollonius* the rhetorician, and *Posidonius* the philosopher. It is said, that *Apollonius* not understanding *Latin*, defired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*, on which he readily obeyed; and had no sooner concluded his declamation, than the others expressed their astonishment, and strove who should praise him most; but *Apollonius* sat musing a considerable time, till seeing *Cicero* appear disturbed, he cried, "I praise and
" admire thee *Cicero*; but I pity *Greece*, at

“ seeing arts and eloquence, the only ornaments that are left her, by thee transferred to the *Romans*.”

Cicero, on his return to *Rome*, was at first very backward in putting up for public offices, whence he was called a *Greek* and a *Scholar*, which were common terms of reproach among the vulgar. But soon applying himself to pleading, he suddenly shone, and far surpassed all the other orators. However, it is said, that he was at first defective in action; but by applying sometimes to *Roscius* the comedian, and sometimes to *Aesopus* the tragedian, became so perfect a master of that branch of oratory, that it greatly contributed to render his eloquence persuasive.

Being appointed *quaestor* during a great scarcity of corn, he had *Sicily* for his province, where he at first displeased the people, by compelling them to send their provisions to *Rome*; but soon experiencing his care, his justice and clemency, they honoured him more than they had ever done any of their former governors. As he was returning to *Rome*, filled with an high opinion of himself, on account of the success of his administration, he himself tells us, that he met one of his friends on the road, and asked him what the *Romans* said and thought of him, imagining that the fame of his actions had spread thro’ the whole city; but he had the mortification to hear him reply, “ Why, *Cicero*, where hast thou been all this while?” When finding that the report of what he had done, had fallen

fallen into the city of *Rome*, as into an immense ocean, without any return of public praise, he saw the vanity of his expectations, and began to set bounds to his ambition.

Cicero had a pleasant seat in the territory of *Arpinum*, near *Naples*, and another near *Pompeii*, but neither of them of great value; and, as he had but a small estate, though it was sufficient for his expences, people wondered at his taking neither fees nor gifts from his clients. He lived genteelly and temperately with some learned *Greeks* and *Romans*, whom he kept in his house, and seldom took any meal before sun-set. He was otherwise very regular and exact in the care he took of his body; for he had a stated rule in anointing and rubbing himself, and also in walking. He usually resided near the *Palatine* Mount, that those who came to wait upon him might not have far to walk; and, indeed, the people who daily appeared at his door, were not fewer than those who paid their court to *Pompey* on account of his power among the soldiers, or to *Crassus* for his riches. Therefore, when many and great competitors stood with him for the *prætorship*, he was the first chosen, and in the decision of causes, he behaved with great justice and integrity.

Cicero was afterwards preferred to the *consulship*, as much by the favour of the nobility, as by that of the common people, both uniting to invest him with that office. This

was upon the following occasion. *Pompey* being employed in the war against the kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, *Rome* wanted a sufficient force to crush those who aimed at the destruction of the government. At their head was *Lucius Catiline*, who was of a bold and enterprising spirit, and well skilled in artifice and dissimulation. He was accused of debauching his own daughter, and having murdered his brother, he persuaded *Sylla* to prevent his being called to an account for it, by putting him in the list of the proscribed. This profligate wretch and his followers had bound themselves to each other by the most horrid ceremonies, and, in particular, had sacrificed a man, and eat of his flesh. *Catiline* had already corrupted great part of the *Roman* youth, by daily procuring them new pleasures, supplying them with women, and with money to carry on a constant scene of riot and debauchery. All *Etruria*, and great part of *Gallia Cisalpina*, were ready to revolt, and *Rome* itself seemed ready for a change. While things were in this situation, *Catiline* put up for the consulship, when most of the nobility foreseeing their danger, pressed *Cicero* to stand for that office, and the people with great zeal and cheerfulness supported his pretensions.

Immediately upon *Cicero*'s entrance on the consulship, the tribunes of the people proposed the constituting of *Decemviri* with absolute power, who were to have the right of

felling

elling the public lands throughout *Italy* and *Syria*, and whatsoever *Pompey* had newly conquered, of judging and banishing whoever they pleased, of planting colonies, taking money out of the treasury, and of levying what soldiers they thought proper. *Cicero* opposed this design with great resolution, on which the tribunes summoned him and the other *consul* to appear before the people. *Cicero*, far from being alarmed, ordered the senate to attend him, and presenting himself to the people, caused the law to be rejected, so great was the ascendant his eloquence gave him over them. For, of all the *Roman* orators, he most clearly demonstrated, that what is just and honourable, is by eloquence also rendered pleasing; and that truth, when properly represented, has an irresistible force. He shewed, that a wise and skilful statesman should, in action, prefer what is honest before that which is popular, and in speaking, separate what is offensive from that which is salutary.

In the mean while *Catiline*'s accomplices, who were at first disarmed and intimidated, began to take fresh courage, and assembling, exhorted each other to prosecute their design with vigour, before the return of *Pompey*, who was said to be marching with all his forces towards *Rome*. *Catiline* chiefly confided in the veteran soldiers who had served under *Sylla*, and were now dispersed throughout *Italy*, and particularly in the cities of *Etruria*.

ria *, dreaming of fresh plunder, and being already in imagination masters of all the riches of *Italy*. These having for their leader *Manlius*, an officer who had distinguished himself in the wars under *Sylla*, joined *Catiline*, and came to *Rome* to give him their votes at the election; for he again sued for the consulship, and had resolved to kill *Cicero* in the tumult of the assembly.

Cicero received intimations of this design, but they were not sufficient for the conviction of so noble and powerful a person as *Catiline*. Therefore deferring the day of election, he summoned him to appear before the senate, and then examined him in relation to the reports he had heard. *Catiline* imagining there were many in the senate desirous of a change, and being willing to give the conspirators a proof of his resolution, boldly answered, “What harm is done, if when there are two bodies, the one lean and consumptive with a head, the other large and strong without one, I put a head to the body which wants it?” This being spoken of the senate and people increased *Cicero*’s terror. Therefore, on the day of election, he armed himself with a coat of mail, and was conducted into the *Campus Martius* by the most eminent citizens, and a great num-

* This country included *Tuscany*, and part of the Ecclesiastical State to the west of the *Tiber*.

her of the *Roman* youth. There he threw aside his upper garment, and exposed his armour to public view, that all might be sensible of his danger. The people irritated at the sight, gathered round him, and when they came to give their votes, again rejected *Catiline*, and chose *Silanus* and *Murena* consuls.

At length *Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus* and *Scipio Metellus*, three of the most eminent and powerful citizens of *Rome*, went in the dead of the night to *Cicero*'s house, and causing him to be awaked, *Crassus* let him know that his own porter had given him several letters brought by an unknown hand, one of which was directed to himself, but no name was subscribed, and the rest to others. *Crassus* had read only his own letter, by which he was informed, that *Catiline* intended to make a great slaughter, and therefore he was advised to leave the city. The other letters he did not open; but brought them to *Cicero*, who assembled the senate at break of day, and then delivered the letters to those to whom they were directed, whom he ordered to read them publicly. They were all to the same purpose, and *Quintus Arrius* informed the senate, that he had received information, that *Manlius* was hovering about the cities in *Etruria* with a considerable body of men, in expectation of an insurrection at *Rome*; upon which the senate invested the consuls with full authority to act as they should think proper for the public safety: a step never taken but in times of imminent danger.

Cicero

Cicero now committed all affairs abroad to *Quintus Metellus*; but kept the government of the city in his own hands, and was daily guarded by such a number of attendants, that they filled a great part of the Forum. *Catiline*, now impatient of farther delay, ordered *Marcius* and *Cethegus*, to go early in the morning to pay *Cicero* a visit, and then to murder him: but *Fulvia*, a woman of quality, went, by night to *Cicero*, and informed him of his danger. The assassins were therefore refused admittance, at which being greatly enraged, they made a loud clamour, which only served to render them more suspected.

Cicero, on his going out, assembled the senate in the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, and *Catiline* appeared among the rest in order to justify himself; but all the senators left the bench on which he placed himself, and when he began to speak, would not suffer him to proceed. At length *Cicero* rising, ordered him to leave the city. *Catiline* obeyed, and went to *Manlius*, attended by 300 armed men, assuming the axes, rods, and other ensigns of authority. Then assembling a body of near 20,000 men, he marched to the several cities, in order to induce them to revolt; on which *Antonius* was sent with an army against him.

In the mean time, the conspirators who remained in the city assembled, and being encouraged by *Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, a man of a noble family, but of a dissolute life, formed

ed the resolution of assassinating the whole senate, and as many of the citizens as possible, sparing none but *Pompey's* children, whom they intended to seize and keep as hostages, in order to procure a reconciliation with their father. The night appointed for the execution of this horrid design was the first of the *Saturnalia*. They had already privately lodged swords, tow and sulphur in the house of *Cetegus*. The city was to be set on fire in a hundred places at once, and men were to be stationed at the aqueducts, to murder all who came to fetch water. As there happened to be then at *Rome* two ambassadors from the *Allobroges* *, a nation in a distressed condition, and very uneasy under the *Roman* government, *Lentulus* and his party, hoping to produce an insurrection in *Gaul*, gave them letters to their magistrates, promising to restore their nation to liberty; with others to *Catiline*, in which they exhorted him to set free all the slaves, and with the utmost expedition to march with them to *Rome*. These letters were given to *Titus*, a *Cretonian*, who was sent with the ambassadors to *Catiline*. But all their black designs were soon unravelled by the vigilance, industry, and consummate prudence of *Cicero*. His emissaries watched all their motions, and the ambassadors themselves acted in concert with him. He therefore ordered an ambush to be laid in

* They inhabited *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*.

the

the night time, and thus secured the *Crato-mian*, with all his letters.

Cicero having obtained these proofs of their guilt, summoned the senate to meet at break of day in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters and examined the witnesses. *Lentulus* being convicted, abdicated his office, for he was then *praetor*, and instantly changed his robe edged with purple, for a garment more suitable to his present circumstances, after which he, with the rest of the conspirators present, was committed to the custody of the other *praetors*.

The next day a debate arose in the senate on the subject of their punishment, when *Cato* making a very warm speech against them, a decree was passed for their execution. After which *Cicero*, attended by the senators, and the principal persons in the city, went to the places where the conspirators were separately confined, and first bringing *Lentulus* through the Forum to the prison, delivered him to the officer, with orders to execute him. He then conducted *Cethegus* thither in the same manner, and after him the rest, causing them all to be executed in prison. On his return from thence, he observed several of their accomplices standing together in the Forum, ignorant of what had been done, and waiting for the night, as if there had been a possibility of rescuing them. On which he called out with a loud voice, *They did live*, an expression used by the *Romans* to avoid the inauspicious words *They are dead*. The people

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The Tyrrhenian Delphini imploring Dionis compassion.

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ple filled with a solemn awe, had hitherto followed him in profound silence, and the young men in particular, had attended this ceremony with a mixture of fear and terror, as if by the authority of the senate, they were going to be initiated into some sacred mysteries of government: but when all was over, and *Cicero* returned from the Forum to his own house, they saluted him as *their deliverer, and the second founder of the state*. It was now evening; and the streets were illuminated with a multitude of lamps and torches set up at the doors, while the women held out lamps at the tops of their houses, in honour of *Cicero*, and to behold him returning home with a splendid train of the principal citizens, many of whom had obtained victories and triumphs. These, as they passed, acknowledged to each other, that though the *Roman* people were indebted to several of their present generals for riches, spoils and power, yet they owed their safety and preservation to *Cicero* alone, who had defeated the greatest of all conspiracies with so little damage, trouble and commotion. Soon after most of those who had joined *Catiline*, hearing the fate of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, instantly forsook him, and he himself venturing to engage with *Antonius*, was defeated and slain.

Some however reproached and insulted *Cicero* for his conduct in this affair. These were led by some of the magistrates for the ensuing year, *Cæsar*, one of the prætors, and *Metellus* and *Beftia* two of the tribunes. On en-

tering their office some days before *Cicero's* consulship expi ed, they would not suffer him to make his oration to the people: but allowed him to take the customary oath, on his laying down his office. *Cicero* therefore advanced forward, and the whole assembly being silent, instead of the usual oath, he swore that he had saved his country, and preserved the government.

This exasperating still more both *Cæsar*, and the above tribunes, they proposed a law for recalling *Pompey* with his army to suppress *Cicero's* excessive power; but *Cato*, who was then one of the tribunes, opposed, and easily defeated their design. Then making an oration to the people, he so highly extolled the consulship of *Cicero*, that the greatest honour was conferred upon him, that ever was bestowed upon any man, by his being publickly declared the father of his country, and he seems to have been the first who obtained that glorious title.

Cicero's authority in the city was now very great, but his vanity made him incur the envy and hatred of many, for neither the senate, the assembly of the people, nor any court of judicature could meet, without his being heard to boast of his behaviour in the affair of *Catiline* and *Lentulus*; besides, by filling his writings with his own praises, he rendered a style in itself the most elegant, nauseous and irksome to his readers. But though he was thus excessively fond of his own praise, he was void of envy, and was in his

works profusely liberal in his commendations both of the antients and of his cotemporaries ; thus he styles the language of *Aristotle*, *a river of flowing gold* ; on mentioning *Plato's* dialogues, he says, *that if Jupiter were to speak, he would discourse like him* ; and being asked which of the orations of *Demosthenes* he liked best, he answered *the longest* : he not only gives him many encomiums, but shews how much he honoured him, by his naming, the most elaborate of his orations, those against *Anthony*, his *Philippics* *. Besides, among the eminent men of his own time, either for philosophy or eloquence, there was none whom he did not honour with his praises.

But besides *Cicero's* vanity, many were offended at the bitterness of his railery, and the keenness of his wit, with which he sometimes lashed his friends, as well as his enemies. Thus *Lucius Cotta*, who was intemperately fond of wine, being censor when *Cicero* sued for the consulship ; he was one day going about to solicit the people, and happening to be dry, as his friends stood round him while he drank, he said, “ You do well to conceal me, for fear the censor should be offended at my drinking water.” As this conduct created him many enemies, they encouraged *Clodius* and his faction to form schemes against him.

* *Demosthenes* had given this title to his orations against *Philip* king of *Macedonia*.

Clodius, who was of a noble family, and in the flower of his youth, was of a bold, insolent, and libidinous disposition ; and being in love with *Pompeia*, *Cæsar*'s wife, got privately into his house, dressed like a female musician, while the women were offering a sacrifice that is concealed from the sight of man ; but it being night he lost his way, and one of the women belonging to *Aurelia*, the mother of *Cæsar*, seeing him wandering up and down, asked his name. His having yet no beard, had hitherto concealed him ; but being now obliged to speak, he answered, that he was seeking for *Aura*, one of *Pompeia*'s maids. The woman, on hearing a man's voice, gave a loud shriek : the rest of her sex instantly assembled, and shutting the gates, sought for this rash intruder, whom they at length found in the chamber of that maid who had brought him in.

This affair making much noise, *Cæsar* divorced his wife *Pompeia*, saying, *That the wife of Cæsar should not only be free from guilt, but from suspicion* ; and *Clodius* was prosecuted for his impiety. At this time *Cicero* was esteemed his friend ; for during *Catiline*'s conspiracy, *Clodius* had appeared very forward to assist him, and used to attend him as one of his guards. *Clodius*, in his defence, laid the greatest stress on his not being then at *Rome*, but at a great distance in the country : yet *Cicero* asserted that he came to his house that very day, and discoursed with him on some particular business. This was certainly true ; but

but *Cicero* was thought to give this evidence less for the sake of truth, than to please his wife *Terentia*, who hated *Clodius*, on account of his being sister to *Clodia*, of whom she was jealous. However, many persons of the greatest reputation also appeared against him, charging him with perjury, fraud, bribery, and the debauching of women. Yet the common people rose in a tumultuous manner against his accusers and prosecutors, on which the judges were so terrified, that they had a guard placed about them. *Clodius* however was acquitted by the majority, who were suspected to be bribed. As for *Cæsar*, though he was cited to appear, yet he refused to give evidence against him.

Clodius being thus acquitted, was chosen one of the tribunes of the people, and instantly attacked *Cicero*, making use of every artifice to exasperate the multitude against him. The common people he flattered with popular laws; and to each of the consuls he decreed large provinces. Besides, he engaged in his interest a crowd of indigent persons, and had always about him a company of armed slaves. Of the three men then possessed of the greatest power, *Crassus* was *Cicero's* open enemy, *Pompey* equally carelessly both parties, and *Cæsar* was marching with an army into *Gaul*. Though *Cicero* knew that the last was not his friend, and though he had suspected his being concerned in *Catiline's* conspiracy, he now applied to him, and desired

fired to be appointed his lieutenant. To this *Cæsar* consented *. *Clodius* perceiving that *Cicero* would, by this step, be out of his reach during the year of his tribuneship, treacherously pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation, and artfully censuring *Terentia* as the sole cause of their difference, took all occasions of speaking of him in the most honourable and respectful terms. *Cicero* was caught by this snare, and no longer fearing *Clodius*, declined the office of lieutenant to *Cæsar*, and again applied himself to public affairs.

Cæsar, exasperated at this proceeding, not only animated *Clodius* against him, but alienated *Pompey* from him, and declared in a public assembly of the people, that *Cicero* had acted contrary to law, in putting *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to death without a regular trial. *Cicero* now finding himself reduced to the condition of a criminal, changed his habit, and permitting his hair to grow, went about supplicating the people; while *Clodius*, surrounded by a company of daring abusive fellows, frequently met him in the streets, and deriding his mourning habit, pelted him with dirt and stones. Upon this almost the whole equestrian order also changed their dress, and no less than 20,000 young gentlemen, with

* *Plutarch* is here mistaken. For *Cicero* himself tells us, in his 18th letter of his second book to *Atticus*, that *Cæsar* of his own accord offered him that post.

their hair untrimmed, joined with him in supplicating the people. The senate even met to pass a decree, that the people should change their habit, as in a time of public mourning: but this being opposed by the consuls, and *Clodius* besetting the senate-house with armed men, many of the senators ran out, and with violent outcries rent their cloaths.

Cicero now found, that he must either submit to punishment, or decide the dispute by force of arms. In this extremity he resolved to implore the assistance of Pompey; but he had purposely retired to his *Alban* villa. Cicero therefore sent *Piso* his son-in-law thither to solicit for him, and afterwards went himself. But when Pompey was informed of his arrival, he had not the resolution to see a man for whom he had an high esteem, and from whom he had received many obligations: for being *Cæsar's* son-in-law, he overlooked all Cicero's former services, and slipped out at a back door.

Cicero, on his being thus forsaken by Pompey, consulted his friends, when *Eucullus* advised him to stay, since he would certainly at last prevail; but others persuaded him to fly, because the people would soon be tired with the rage and madness of *Clodius*, and would then wish for his return. Cicero approving of this last advice, privately left the city about midnight, accompanied by a number of his friends, and travelled by land to *Lucania**,

THE LIFE OF
cania *, intending to pass over from thence
into Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled, than *Clodius* procured from the people a decree for his banishment, interdicting him from fire and water, and forbidding all persons within 500 miles of *Italy*, to receive him into their houses. But the people had every where conceived such reverence and esteem for *Cicero*, that wherever he came, they received him with all possible demonstrations of friendship, and respectfully attended him on his way. Only *Vibius* a Sicilian, who had received many testimonies of *Cicero*'s friendship, and lived at *Hipponium*, a city of *Lucania*, now called *Vibo* †, refused to receive him into his house; but sent him word, that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception: and *Caius Virgilius*, the prætor of *Sicily*, though *Cicero*'s intimate friend, wrote to him to forbid his entering that island. *Cicero*, greatly dejected at this repulse, went to *Brundusium*, where he embarked for *Dyrrachium* ‡, and settled in that city. While he continued there, multitudes of people waited on him, with the utmost demonstrations of esteem and affection, and all the cities

* This country includes the *Basilica'a*, and part of *Terra di Lavoro*, in the kingdom of *Naples*.

† This town has again changed its name, and is at present called *Bivona*.

‡ Now *Durazzo*, a city of *Albania*.

of Greece contended which should honour him most. Yet like an unfortunate lover, he continued melancholy and disconsolate, frequently casting his longing eyes towards Italy ; and indeed was more dejected than any one could have expected from a learned man and a philosopher.

Clodius now burned his villas, and afterwards his house in the city, and built on the spot where it stood a temple to *Liberty*. He at the same time set up his goods to auction ; but though proclamation was daily made, no body came to buy them. By these means he became formidable to the senators ; and the populace who supported him, being arrived at the utmost degree of licentiousness, he began to attack *Pompey*, who now began to blame himself for abandoning *Cicero* ; and therefore uniting his interest with that of the friends of the unhappy exile, used his utmost endeavours to have him recalled. The following year, when *Lentulus* was consul, these commotions arose to such a height, that some of the tribunes were wounded in the Forum, and *Quintus*, the brother of *Cicero*, escaped only by lying without motion among the bodies of the slain. The people now beginning to change their sentiments, *Annius Milo*, one of their tribunes, had the courage to impeach *Clodius* for violating the public peace. Many of the citizens, and of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, then joining *Pompey*, went with him and *Milo*, and having driven *Clodius* out of the Forum, the people were

were summoned to give their votes; and they never, it is said, were more unanimous than in recalling *Cicero*. The senate now striving to exceed the people, decreed that thanks should be given to those cities which had received him with respect during his exile, and that his house and villas should be rebuilt at the public expence.

Thus *Cicero* returned, after an exile of sixteen months, at which the cities were so rejoiced, and so eager to meet him, that *Cicero* did not exaggerate, when he afterwards said, *That all Italy brought him on her shoulders home to Rome.*

Cicero had not been long at *Rome*, when seizing the opportunity of *Clodius*'s absence, he went, accompanied by his friends, to the *Capitol*, and took down and defaced the tables, containing the laws that passed in the tribuneship of that seditious man. This *Cicero* justified, by observing that *Clodius*, being of the patrician order, had obtained the office of tribune contrary to law, and that therefore nothing done by him was valid. This displeased *Cato*, though he disapproved *Clodius*'s whole conduct in the administration of his office; for he maintained, that it was very irregular to abolish so many decrees and acts, among which was the commission for his government at *Byprus* and *Byzantium*. This occasioned a coldness between *Cato* and *Cicero*, though it never broke out into an open quarrel.

Cicero

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Cicero was afterwards chosen one of the aug^{irs} *, in the room of *Crassus* the younger, who was slain in *Parthia*: he likewise obtained by lot the province of *Cilicia*, and sailed thither with 2600 horse, and 12,000 foot. Being ordered to oblige *Cappadocia* to submit to king *Ariobarzanes*, he effected it, to the general satisfaction, without having recourse to arms; and finding that the *Cilicians* were grown insolent, he reduced them into order by the mildness of his government. He received no presents, though sent him by kings; but his house was always open to ingenuous and learned men, whom he daily entertain'd in a liberal but not expensive manner. He had no porter, but early in the morning stood or walked before his gate, and gave a kind reception to those who visited him: he never ordered any person to be beaten with rods: he gave no contumelious language in his anger, nor added reproach to punishment. Whenever he recovered any of the public money that had been embezzled, he enriched the cities with it, and inflicted no farther punishment on those who made restitution, but preserved their reputation. He also engaged in war, and drove out the robbers who infested Mount *Amanus*, for which he was saluted Imperator by his army.

When he returned from his province, he touched first at *Rhodes*, and then at *Athens*,

* An order of priests, whose office it was to foretel future events by the flight of birds, &c.

where

where remembering his former studies, and conversations in that city, he was willing to make some stay. He therefore spent a short time in conversing with and visiting his friends, and the persons most celebrated for their learning ; and having received the strongest testimonies of friendship and esteem that *Greece* could give him, he returned to *Rome*, which he found in a violent ferment, every thing seeming to threaten an approaching civil war. The senate offered to decree him a triumph ; but declining it, he said, *That he had rather, if by that means he could accommodate their differences, follow the triumphal chariot of Cæsar.* He privately endeavoured to produce an accommodation, by writing often to *Cæsar*, and by making use of his entreaties to *Pompey*. But when the evil became incurable, when *Cæsar* marched towards *Rome*, and *Pompey*, accompanied by many of the best citizens, fled from thence, he staid and seemed to adhere to *Cæsar* ; but was much perplexed ; for thus he writes in his epistles : “ To which side shall I turn ? “ *Pompey’s* cause is more just and honourable, “ but *Cæsar* has better managed his affairs, “ and is more able to secure himself and his “ friends : so that I know from whom, but “ not to whom, I should fly.” Yet when *Trebatus* wrote to let him know that *Cæsar* advised him to be partaker of his hopes : but if his age would not permit that, he might retire into *Greece*, and live there in a state of tranquillity, he answered, *That he would*

now do nothing unworthy of his former conduct.

Cæsar, however, had no sooner gone to Spain, than *Cicero* set sail to join *Pompey*. His arrival pleased every one but *Cato*, who privately blamed him for taking this step. “It would have been dishonourable for me,” said he, to have forsaken that party I first espoused: but thou mightest have been more useful to thy friends and country, if remaining neuter, thou hadst watched and governed the event.” This induced *Cicero* to change his sentiments, especially on his finding that *Pompey* never consulted him in any affair of moment.

After the battle of *Pharsalia*, at which his want of health would not suffer him to be present, *Cato*, who had a great fleet, and considerable forces at *Dyrrachium*, desired him to take the command, which of right belonged to him, on account of his consular dignity; but *Cicero* refusing it, and protesting that he would not join in the war, narrowly escaped being slain; for young *Pompey* and his friends calling him traitor, drew their swords; but *Cato* interposing, rescued him with much difficulty, and brought him out of the camp.

Cicero afterwards resolved to join *Cæsar*, who was going by land from *Tarentum* * to

* Now *Taranto*, in the kingdom of *Naples*.

Brundusium *. He therefore hastened towards him, with his mind filled with hope, shame and reluctance at the thoughts of making a public trial of the temper of an enemy and a conqueror. He was, however, under no necessity of either doing or saying any thing unworthy of himself: for *Cæsar* no sooner saw him at a distance, than he advanced before the rest of his company, alighted, ran up to him, and saluted him, and then walked on discoursing with him alone. From thence forward he continued to treat him with great kindness: thus when *Cicero* made his oration in praise of *Cato*; *Cæsar*, on his answering it, took occasion to commend, not only the eloquence, but the life of *Cicero*.

It is said, that when *Quintus Ligarius* was prosecuted for being in arms against *Cæsar*, and *Cicero* undertook his defence, *Cæsar* cried to his friends, “ We may hear *Cicero*, for it is a great while since we heard him; but as for his client, I am convinced that he is a bad man, and my enemy.” *Cicero*, however, no sooner began to speak, than *Cæsar* seemed greatly moved, and, as he proceeded, his oration was so variously pathetic, and so inimitably elegant, that he frequently changed colour; and it evidently appeared, that his mind was violently agitated by many different passions. At length, the orator touching upon the battle of *Phar-*

* At present called *Brindisi*, also in the kingdom of *Naples*.

salia, he was so affected, that he trembled, and some papers dropped out of his hand. Thus being overpowered by the force of *Cicero's* eloquence, he acquitted *Ligarius*, tho' he had before resolved to condemn him.

The commonwealth being after this changed into a monarchy, *Cicero* withdrew from public affairs, and employed himself in instructing some young men in philosophy, who being of the noblest families in the city, he afterwards, by their means, raised himself to great power and authority. But he chiefly employed himself in composing and translating philosophical dialogues. He seldom went to the city, and then only to pay his court to *Cæsar*; on which occasions he was always very forward in saying something new in his praise. Thus when *Cæsar* set up *Pompey's* statues, which had been defaced and thrown down, *Cicero* said, *That Cæsar, by setting up the statues of Pompey, had fixed and established his own*. He had formed the design of writing the history of *Rome*, and of intermingling with it an account of the affairs of the *Grecians*, with a full representation both of their true and fabulous history: but he was diverted from it by many public and private affairs.

Cicero had not the least concern in the conspiracy against *Cæsar*, notwithstanding his being particularly intimate with *Brutus*, and his being so uneasy under the present situation of affairs, that he seemed to wish for a change more ardently than any one else. But the

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conspirators dreaded his natural timidity, increased by old age, which weakens the courage of the most resolute. When the fact was committed, and there was reason to fear that *Rome* would be again involved in a civil war, *Antony*, who was consul, convened the senate, and made a short discourse that tended to an accommodation. On which *Cicero* enlarging on many things suitable to the occasion, prevailed on the senate to pass an act of oblivion for what was past, and to decree provinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*. But the people no sooner saw the corpse of *Cæsar* carried through the Forum, and beheld *Antony* exposing his garments stained with blood, and pierced thro' on every side, than being transported with fury, they instantly went in search of the murderers, and with firebrands in their hands, ran to burn their houses; but they had avoided the danger, by leaving the city.

Antony now grew suddenly elated, and aiming at nothing less than absolute power, became formidable to all, but most to *Cicero*, who fearing the event, was inclined to go as lieutenant with *Dolabella* into *Syria*. But *Pansa* and *Hirtius* being nominated consuls, entreated him not to leave them, and undertook to suppress *Antony* if he would assist them with his presence. *Cicero*, without giving too much credit to this promise, suffered *Dolabella* to go without him, and promising to return to *Rome*, when they entered on their office, embarked for *Greece*. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, and he learning from

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the letters he daily received from *Rome*, that *Antony* seemed remarkably changed ; he being now entirely guided by the senate, and that his presence was wanted to settle the commonwealth in the best manner, he blamed his unnecessary caution, and returned to *Rome*, when such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that almost the whole day was taken up with the compliments and civilities paid him at the gates, and at his entrance into the city.

However, the next day *Antony* assembled the senate, and summoned *Cicero* to attend ; but he having received an intimation in his way to *Rome*, that *Antony* had formed a design against his life, kept his bed, under the pretence of being indisposed by his journey. *Antony* highly resenting this suspicion, gave orders to a body of soldiers to bring him, and if he refused to come, to set fire to his house ; but *Cicero*'s friends earnestly interceding for him, he revoked the order.

From this time forward they lived in mutual suspicion, and whenever they met, they passed by each other in silence. When *Oetavius* came to *Rome*, and contended with *Antony* for the treasures left by *Cæsar*, *Cicero* agreed to assist him with his eloquence and interest, both in the senate and with the people ; while *Oetavius*, on the other hand, was to supply *Cicero* with money, and defend him with his arms ; for he had already under his command a great number of veteran soldiers, who had served under *Cæsar*.

Cicero having suppressed and driven out *Antony*, sent after him *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, the two consuls, with an army ; after which, he prevailed on the senate to allow *Cæsar* the lictors and prætorian ensigns, as to a person fighting in defence of his country. *Antony* was defeated, though both the consuls were slain ; but the forces that returned from the battle joining *Octavius*, the senate became alarmed, and endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw off the soldiers from him ; declaring, that now *Antony* was put to flight, there was no farther need of arms. Upon this *Octavius* privately sent some of his friends to persuade *Cicero* to procure the consulship for them both, assuring him that he should have the supreme power, and manage affairs as he pleased ; for as he was a young man he was willing to be governed, and was only desirous of the honour of that office. *Cicero*, notwithstanding his being advanced in years, suffered himself to become the dupe of a young man, and brought over the senate to his interest. His friends soon blamed him for this false step, and it was not long before he himself perceived that it would be his ruin, and that he had betrayed the liberty of his country. For *Cæsar* had no sooner established his power by obtaining the consular authority, than he forsook *Cicero*, and becoming reconciled to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, united his power with their's, and divided the empire with them, as if it had been a private estate. Being thus united, they drew

up a list of 200 persons * whom they designed to put to death. Their chief contention was on the proscription of *Cicero*, for *Antony* would come to no agreement till *Octavius* consented to his death. Their conferences were held with the utmost privacy near the city of *Bononia*, and lasted three days. They

* Mr. *Crevier* observes, that according to *Dio*, the number of the proscribed exceeded those put to death by *Sylla*, who made no scruple of owning that they amounted to 4700 citizens of all ranks. For *Sylla* proscribed only his enemies, and his friends, at least, had nothing to fear; but here the case was different; for, as the friends of one had been the enemies of the other, the being attached to either was a sufficient reason for being included in the proscription: but *Octavius*, when he became master of the empire under the name of *Augustus*, was ashamed of his past cruelties, and therefore probably endeavoured to destroy all monuments of them, and the writers did not dare to discover what the prince strove to conceal. We find the number of senators reckoned at 130 according to some, and at 300 according to others. *Appian* says there were slain 2000 knights: but as to the number of the citizens of the lower order, we are quite in the dark. Thus it is evident, that *Plutarch* must be greatly mistaken in making the list of the proscribed consist of only 200 persons.

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met in a place opposite to their camps, and were encompassed by a river. *Octavius* is said to have contended earnestly for *Cicero* during the two first days, but delivered him up on the third. In the concessions they made to each other, *Octavius* agreed to desert *Cicero* *; *Lepidus*, his brother *Paulus*, and *Antony*, *Lucius Cæsar*, his uncle. So entirely did rage and resentment stifle in their minds all sentiments of humanity; while they plainly shewed that no beast is more savage than man, when he abandons himself to the full gratification of his passions.

In the mean time *Cicero* was with his brother at his country-seat near *Tusculum* †; where hearing of the proscriptions, they resolved to go to *Astyra*, a villa belonging to *Cicero*, situated near the sea, and to set sail from thence in order to join *Brutus* in *Macedonia*. Oppressed with grief, they travelled in their separate litters; but frequently joining in conversation, affectionately condoled with each other. *Quintus*, who wanted necessities for the journey, was most discouraged; and even *Cicero* had but a slender provision.

* Besides *Cicero*, to whom *Octavius* was so much obliged, he proscribed *C. Foranius*, who had been his father's friend, and was his own tutor when he was a child.

† Now called *Frescati*, the reader may find a description of this celebrated retreat in *The World displayed*, vol. xviii. p. 224, 225.

It was therefore agreed, that *Cicero* should make all possible haste in his flight, and that *Quintus* should return home to provide necessaries; then having embraced with many tears, they parted, bewailing their unhappy fate.

A few days after, *Quintus* being betrayed by his servants to those who came in search of him, was slain, together with his son; but *Cicero* being carried to *Astyra*, and finding a vessel ready, immediately went on board, and sailed with a prosperous gale as far as *Circeum**; from thence he proceeded to *Cajeta*, where he had a delightful country house. There he laid himself down on his bed; but his servants, partly by their entreaties, and partly by force, persuaded him to get again into his litter, and carried him toward the sea side. In the mean time the assassins, commanded by *Herenius* a centurion, and *Popilius* a tribune, whom *Cicero* had formerly defended, when prosecuted for the murder of his father, came to the doors, and finding them shut, forced them open. On their enquiring for *Cicero*, the servants whom

* A promontory now called *Monte Circei*, which is described by Mr. *Addison*. See *The World displayed*, vol. xix. p. 112.

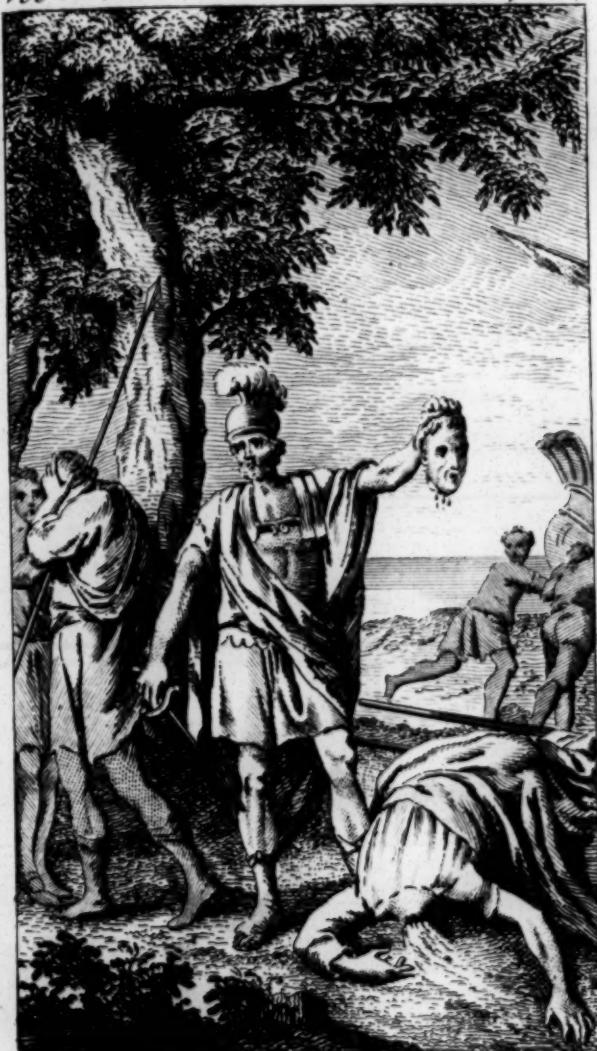
† *Cajeta* is now famous for a rock of marble, said to be cleft by the earthquake that happened at our Saviour's death. See the above work, vol. xix. also p. 112.

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they found within, told them they knew not where he was. But it is said, that *Philologus*, a youth whom *Cicero* himself had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, and was a freedman of his brother *Quintus*, let the tribune know, that they were carrying the litter through the close and shady walks to the sea shore. The tribune taking a few soldiers with him, now ran to the place where the groves were terminated by the sea: but *Cicero* no sooner beheld *Herennius* running through the walks, than he ordered his litter to be set down, and putting his left hand to his chin, as was his custom, looked stedfastly at the murderers. His squalid appearance, and his person wasted with anxiety, had such an effect on the attendants of *Herennius*, that most of them covered their faces, while that centurion murdered him, as he stretched his neck out of the litter. Thus fell *Cicero* in the 64th year of his age*. *Herennius*, by *Antony's* command cut off his head, and also his hands, because with these he had written his *Philippics*. When these were brought to *Rome*, *Antony*, who was holding an assembly for the choice of magistrates, on seeing them said, *Now let us put an end to our prescriptions*. He afterwards caused his head to be fixed up between his hands over the *Rostrum*. This sight filled

* The 43d year before the Christian æra.

† Before it was placed on the tribunal where that orator had displayed an eloquence, which



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filled the *Roman* people with horror, who, in these dreadful objects, imagined they beheld the image of *Antony*'s cruel soul.

Antony, however, delivered up *Philologus* to *Pomponia*, the wife of *Quintus*, who, according to several authors, besides other cruel punishments, made him cut off his own flesh by piece meal, boil, and eat it; but *Tiro*, *Cicero*'s freedman, has not so much as mentioned the treachery of *Philologus*.

Long after, *Octavius Cæsar* visiting one of his grandsons, found him with one of *Cicero*'s books in his hand; but the youth being afraid, strove to hide it under his gown, which *Cæsar* observing, took it, and turning over a great part of the book standing, at last returned it, saying, "My child, this was 'a learned man, and a lover of his country.'"

When *Octavius* had vanquished *Antony*, being then consul, he made the son of *Cicero* his colleague in that office; and during his consulship, the senate ordered all the statues

no *Roman* ever equalled, or at least surpassed, *Antony* feasted his eyes with the horrid spectacle, and viewed it attentively with great bursts of laughter. His wife then placed the head before her, loaded it with reproaches, spit upon it, and having put it on her knee, opened the mouth, and pulling out the tongue, pierced it with her bodkin. What brutal rage! What savage joy! What poor, what impotent malice!

of *Antony* to be taken down ; defaced all the other monuments of his honour, and decreed that none of his family should ever be named *Marcus*.

In comparing *Demosthenes* with *Cicero*, I shall not attempt an exact comparison between their talents as great orators ; it may however be proper to observe, that the former applied all his natural abilities and acquired knowledge to his improvement in oratory, and far surpassed in force and energy all his contemporaries ; in grandeur of style, all that were distinguished by the pomp of declamation ; in skill and accuracy, the most eminent professors of rhetoric. *Cicero*'s learning was more various and diffusive ; he applied to different studies, and has left many philosophical treatises ; but he too much indulged his inclination to raillery, and used at the bar wit and pleasantry. *Demosthenes*, on the contrary, was more reserved ; in commending himself, he was delicate and inoffensive, and never praised himself, but when some important occasion rendered it necessary ; but *Cicero*, by his boasting shewed an extraordinary degree of vanity, and an intemperate thirst of fame.

The power of persuading and governing the people was possessed by them both ; so that those who had armies and camps at command, stood in need of their assistance. It is justly said, that nothing so clearly shews the tempers of men, as authority and power, which

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which are apt to awaken all the passions, and to expose whatever weakness and defect lurks in the mind ; but *Demosthenes* never obtained any high office, or led any of those armies he had raised by his eloquence, into the field against *Philip*. *Cicero*, however, went *quaesitor* into *Sicily*, and *proconsul* into *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, when avarice was at the height, and the commanders and governors abroad plundered by open force. Yet throughout the whole course of his administration, he gave the strongest demonstrations both of his humanity, his mildness, and his contempt of riches. And when he was, under the title of *consul*, intrusted with a sovereign and dictatorial authority against *Catiline* and his accomplices, he fulfilled *Plato's* prediction, *That states and cities will be delivered from all their calamities, when, by some happy turn of events, supreme power shall be united with wisdom and justice.*

The banishment of *Demosthenes* was attended with infamy, because he was convicted of bribery ; but *Cicero's* was honourable ; for his only offence was delivering his country from those who intended its destruction. Therefore, at his exile, the senate put on mourning, and refused to pass any act till the people had decreed his return. *Cicero*, however, spent his time in ease and inactivity in *Macedonia* : but *Demosthenes*, during his exile, travelled through all the cities of *Greece*, supporting their joint interests, and defeating the

designs of the *Macedonian* ambassadors: after his return, he pursued the same plan of politics, continuing to oppose *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*. On the other hand, *Cicero* was reproached in the senate by *Lælius*, for sitting silent, while *Octavius*, a beardless stripling, demanded leave to stand for the consulship, though by law he was unqualified for that office; and *Brutus*, in his epistles, censures him for cherishing a greater and more insupportable tyranny, than that he and his friends had removed.



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IN giving the lives of *Dion* and
Brutus, we shall make it appear,
I that neither the *Grecians* nor the
Romans had the least reason to be
displeased with the academy *,
since one of them was both cotemporary, and
inti-

* The academy was the school of *Plato*. It
was situated at a small distance from *Athens*,
and consisted of shady woods, and solitary walks
fit for study and meditation. It was much fre-
quented by all sorts of people, especially those
that applied themselves to the study of philoso-
phy, who resorted thither in great numbers to

intimately acquainted with *Plato*, and the other was from his youth instructed in his philosophy: they were both trained up in the same school, and afterwards employed in nearly the same great and important conflicts. Hence they confirm that just maxim of their great master in the study of virtue, " That power and fortune must concur with justice and prudence in the accomplishment of every thing great and glorious in the public affairs." But both being unable to accomplish the ends at which they aimed, were cut off by a violent death.

It will be necessary to introduce the life of *Dion*, with some account of *Dionysius* the First, who having seized on the government of *Syracuse*, married the daughter of *Hermocrates*, a *Syracusan*; but in an insurrection of the citizens before the government was well established, she was abused in so barbarous and outrageous a manner, that from a sense of shame, she put a period to her life. *Dionysius*, however, being soon firmly established on the throne, he married two wives at once, *Doris*, a native of *Locris*, and *Andromache*, daughter to *Hipparinus*, a *Syracusan* of high rank, who had been colleague with *Dionysius*, on his being first chosen general. *Dionysius* seemed to have an equal affection to these

Plato's lectures, which he constantly read in that place. *Potter's Antiquities of Greece*, vol. i. pag. 40.

women.

women, he entertaining both of them at his table, and lying with them by turns. The *Syracusans* were, however, desirous that their countrywoman should be preferred to the stranger; but *Doris* had the happiness to bear him a son, while *Aristomache* the *Syracusan*, though the king ardently desired to have issue by her, long disappointed his expectations; and this occasioned the death of the mother of *Doris*, whom *Dionysius* accused of preventing *Aristomache*'s conception, by potions and enchantments.

Dion, who was the brother of *Aristomache*, was at first honourably received at court, on his sister's account: but afterwards his own merit procured him the affection and esteem of *Dionysius*, who among other marks of his confidence, ordered his treasurers to supply him with all the money he should demand; but to give him an account the same day of what they delivered to him. *Dion* had naturally a great and noble mind: and a happy incident helped to inspire and confirm him in the most elevated sentiments. By a peculiar providence, which at a distance laid the foundations of the liberty of *Syracuse*, *Plato*, the most celebrated of philosophers came from *Italy*, and settled in that city. *Dion* soon became his friend and disciple, and though very young, made great improvements under the lessons of so excellent a master: for, though he had been educated in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was thought to con-

sist in pleasure, he had no sooner imbibed the first principles of that philosophy which points out the road to virtue, than his soul panted after it with a generous ardour : when judging with the simplicity of a young man, from his own propensity to goodness, that those doctrines would have the same effect on *Dionysius*, he could not rest till he had prevailed on the tyrant to admit and hear his beloved master. *Dionysius* consented, and *Plato* was introduced. Virtue in general was the subject of his discourse ; in particular they disputed on fortitude, which the philosopher proved, that of all men tyrants had the least pretence to ; then treating of equity, he expatiated on the happiness of the just, and the miserable state of those who paid no regard to justice. Here the tyrant stung to the quick, and unable to answer his arguments, would not suffer him to proceed, and was highly offended at the rest of the auditors, who had listened to his discourse with wonder and delight. He asked *Plato*, What business he had in *Sicily*, " I came hither," said he, to seek an honest man." " It appears then, returned the tyrant, that thou hast lost thy labour." *Dion* thought that he would give no farther proof of his displeasure ; but *Plato* being in haste to leave *Sicily*, he suddenly conveyed him on board a galley, in which *Pollis* the *Lacedæmonian* was returning to *Greece* ; but the tyrant privately persuaded him to kill *Plato* during the voyage, or at least to sell him for a slave. " For this, said he, will do him no injury, since

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“ according to his own maxims, being a just man, he will enjoy as much happiness in a state of slavery, as in being free.” It is said, that this fellow sold *Plato* to the *Aeginetans*, who were at war with the *Athenians*, and had published a decree, that whatever *Athenian* was taken on their coasts, should be immediately exposed to sale.

Dion, however, continued to enjoy the esteem and confidence of *Dionysius*, who bore with patience the freedom with which he sometimes talked to him; entrusted him with the most considerable employments, and sent him on an honourable embassy to *Carthage*. *Dionysius* one day ridiculing the government of *Gelo*, formerly king of *Syracuse*, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he was the laughing-stock of * *Sicily*, the whole court extolled the smartness of the pun; but *Dion* replied, that he was to blame to talk thus of a prince, whose wise and equitable conduct had given the *Syracusans* a favourable opinion of a monarchical government, “ You, Sir, obtained the crown,” said he, by being trusted for *Gelon*’s sake, “ but for your sake, no man will ever be trusted after you.” *Dionysius* being at length dangerously ill, *Dion* endeavoured to discourse with him in behalf of his children by *Aristomache*; but the physicians were too quick for him, for in order to ingratiate themselves with the next heir, they, accord-

* Φέλως signifies a laughing-stock.

ing to *Timæus*, gave him, at his desire, a dose to procure him sleep, but made it so strong, that it deprived him of his senses, and closed his sleep with death.

In the first council the young *Dionysius* held with his friends, *Dion* talked with such judgment on the measures most proper to be taken, that the rest of his counsellors, when compared with him, appeared like children. To avert the danger of a war with the *Carthaginians*, he offered to sail immediately to *Africa*, and to settle a peace upon honourable terms; but if the king was rather inclined to a war, he proposed to fit out and maintain fifty galleys at his own expence. *Dionysius* received these friendly offers with the greatest cordiality and pleasure; but the courtiers imagining that his generosity was a reflection upon them, took every opportunity of incensing the king against him, by intimating, that he intended to surprize the government, and by the help of that naval force, to confer the supreme authority on the children of his sister *Andromache*. Indeed, their envy and hatred chiefly arose from his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to their's; for having soon obtained an ascendant over the young prince, who had been wretchedly educated, they perpetually supplied him with new amusements, keeping him constantly employed in feasting, abandoned to women, and all shameful pleasures. It is said, that, in the beginning of his reign, he made a debauch which lasted three months, during

during which his palace was shut against all persons of sense, and being crowded with drunkards, resounded with low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and all kinds of licentious mirth. It is therefore easy to imagine, that nothing could be more disgusting to them than the presence of the wise and sober *Dion*, who gave into none of their pleasures. For this reason, painting his virtues in those colours of vice most likely to disguise them, they represented his gravity as arrogance, and his freedom of speech as feditious insolence. On his offering wise advice, they treated him as a sour pedagogue, who obtruded his lectures, and schooled his prince without being asked.

It must indeed be confessed, that *Dion* had naturally something austere and rigid in his behaviour, that seemed to proceed from a haughtiness of temper, not only capable of disgusting a young prince, educated from his infancy amidst flattery and the most abject submission; but those of his friends who were most sincerely attached to him; therefore, while they loved him for his integrity and generosity, they blamed him for his behaviour, which they observed was unsuitable to the character of one who had any concern in the management of political affairs. But notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly respected, as his superior abilities, and transcendant merit, rendered him the principal support of the government, though he was well convinced, that he owed his greatness

greatness less to the friendship of the kings than to his danger.

Dion imagined, that the vices of young *Dionysius* were owing solely to his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, and therefore thought that the best remedy for them would be to engage him, if possible, in a course of liberal studies, and to inspire him with a taste for those sciences that tend to regulate the temper and the manners: for that prince was not void of genius, and had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous. But his father dreading, lest his being allowed to converse with the wise and virtuous, should make him endeavour too soon to ascend the throne, kept him in close confinement, where, from ignorance of better things, he employed himself in making little chariots, tables, candlesticks, stools, and other things of wood. For, so diffident and suspicious was *Dionysius* the Elder, that he would not suffer a barber to cut his hair with a pair of scissars, but made one of his attendants singe it off with a live coal. Not his brother, or his son, were allowed to enter his apartment without being stripped naked by his guards, and putting on other cloaths. *Leptines*, his brother, once explaining the situation of a place, took a javelin from one of the guard, to trace out the plan; at which the tyrant was so incensed, that he caused the poor soldier, who gave him the weapon, to be put to death; and he slew *Marsyas*, one of his captains, for dreaming that he had killed him;

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him; supposing that he would not have dreamt of it, had it not employed his waking thoughts. Yet this timorous mortal, made thus wretched by his continual fears, was offended at *Plato* for not allowing him to be the bravest man in the world.

Dion advised the young prince to apply to study, and to send for *Plato*, the greatest of all philosophers, that by his instructions he might improve in virtue, and render his mind like that Divine Exemplar of supreme truth and excellence, from whence results all the beauty and harmony visible in the system of the universe: by which means he would give happiness both to himself and his people; while his subjects, won by his justice and moderation, would voluntarily yield him that obedience as a father, which they now paid him by constrain, as a despotic sovereign. “ Fear and force, a great navy, and “ a numerous guard of Barbarians, said he, “ are not, as thy father thought, the adamantine chains which bind fast the regal “ power. On the contrary, the softer bands “ of love and affection, procured by justice “ and clemency, are stronger and more “ proper to secure a permanent dominion, “ than the galling shackles of constraint. “ Besides, while a prince far surpasses others “ in the richness of his apparel, and in the “ splendor of his house, furniture, and equipage, it is a dishonour to him not to excel “ the vulgar in the more noble attainments “ of wisdom and virtue.”

Discourses of this nature, frequently repeated, enflamed the young prince with an ardent desire of knowing and conversing with *Plato*: he therefore wrote to him in the most obliging and pressing terms; and dispatched couriers after couriers to *Athens*, while *Dion* added his entreaties, and the *Pythagorean* philosophers wrote to him from *Italy*, to persuade him to undertake the direction of a young prince perverted by power, and to reclaim him by the force of reason and philosophy. *Plato*, unable to resist solicitations of such force, and vanquished by the consideration of the advantages *Sicily* might acquire from his voyage, at length suffered himself to be persuaded.

In the mean time the flatterers of *Dionysius*, terrified at the resolution he had taken, contrary to their remonstrances, persuaded *Dionysius* to recall *Philistius* from banishment, who was not only an able soldier, but a great historian *, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous assertor of the tyranny; hoping to set him up in opposition to *Plato* and his philosophy. At the same time others accused *Dion* to the king, of holding a correspondence with *Theodotes* and *Heraclides*, in order to subvert the monarchy. It is not indeed improbable, that he hoped by the arrival of

* He wrote the history of *Egypt* in twelve books: that of *Sicily* in eleven, and of *Dionysius the First*, in six; all of which are entirely lost.

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Plato, to render *Dionysius* more moderate and equitable ; but that if he was not to be reclaimed, it is likely he resolved to depose him, and to restore the ancient commonwealth of the *Syracusans*.

In this state of affairs, *Plato* arrived in *Sicily*, and was received with the highest marks of honour and respect. On his landing, he found one of *Dionysius*'s finest chariots attending upon him ; and that prince offered a sacrifice, as if the gods had blessed him with some peculiar favour : the citizens also entertained great hopes of a speedy reformation ; for now a modest decorum was observed at court, and the king himself returned obliging answers to every person to whom he gave audience. The people became eagerly intent on the study of philosophy, so that it is said all the apartments in the court itself, like so many schools of geometers, were covered with the dust used by those students in describing mathematical figures.

Soon after, there being a solemn sacrifice in the castle, the herald having, according to custom, prayed for the long continuance of the present government, *Dionysius*, who was not far from him, said, " What ! will you never cease cursing me ? " This expression greatly alarmed *Philistius* and his party, who concluded that time and habit must give *Plato* an invincible ascendant over *Dionysius*, since his being there only a few days could so entirely change his disposition. They therefore united all their efforts against

him, and laboured in concert to render the zeal of *Dion* and *Plato* suspected by the prince, by representing to all who would give them a hearing, that it was visible *Dion* made use of *Plato*'s eloquence to enchant *Dionysius*, that when he was persuaded to part with the regency, he himself might seize it, and settle it upon the children of his sister *Aristomache*: while others seemed to resent it as a great indignity, that the *Sibennians*, who had formerly invaded Sicily both by sea and land, without being able to take *Syracuse*, should now, by means of a single sophist overturn the whole empire of *Dionysius*, by persuading him to dismiss his guard of 10,000 spearmen, to lay aside his fleet of 400 galleys, and to disband a great army of horse and foot, in order to seek in the academy an unknown and imaginary bliss, while he resigned the substantial enjoyments of empire, riches, and pleasure, to *Dion* and his sister's children.

Such discourses soon raised in the mind of *Dionysius* the most violent suspicions of *Dion*, whom he treated with apparent aversion. A letter was also privately brought to *Dionysius*, written by *Dion* to the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, wherein he said, *That when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence, because he would assist them in making the treaty more firm and lasting.* *Dionysius* shewed this letter to *Philistius*, and having concerted with him the measures proper to be taken, he pretended to receive *Dion* again to favour; but

but soon after leading him alone to the sea side below the citadel, shewed him the letter, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the *Carthaginians*. *Dion* attempted to justify himself, but he refused to hear him, and forcing him to go on board a vessel, which lay there for that purpose, ordered the sailors to leave him on the coast of *Italy*.

This unjust treatment could not fail of making much noise ; it however gave fresh courage to the citizens of *Syracuse*, who expected that the general discontent it occasioned, and the distrust it would inspire of the king, would produce an alteration in the state. When *Dionysius* perceived this he was alarmed, and endeavoured to pacify *Dion's* friends, by pretending that he had only sent him out of the way for a certain time, lest he should be prompted by passion to punish his obstinacy with greater severity ; and allowing his relations two ships, he gave them leave to transport to him his riches and servants ; for *Dion* had the equipage of a king.

Dion was no sooner gone than the tyrant removed *Plato* into the citadel, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to secure his person, and prevent his following *Dion*, and declaring to the whole world how injuriously that great man had been treated. But now, charm'd with the pleasure of his conversation, *Dionysius*, in a short time, conceived an esteem, or rather fondness for him, that arose to a jealousy that could not suffer a rival : he was

desirous of engrossing him wholly to himself, of reigning solely in his affections, and of being the only object of his love and esteem. From this tyrannic friendship, he seemed disposed to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would only have a greater regard for him than for *Dion*. *Plato* suffered much from this extravagant affection, which was sometimes accompanied with fond respect, an unbounded effusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments; at others, it was attended with reproaches and menaces, and soon after with repentance, excuses, and humble entreaties for pardon.

About this time a war breaking out, *Dionysius* was obliged to give *Plato* his liberty, and to allow him to return home; but before his departure, he promised him that he would recall *Dion* the next summer. He was not so good as his word; however, he sent him the produce of his estate, and desired *Plato* to excuse his breach of promise; assuring him, that he would send for him as soon as a peace was concluded, and in the mean time desired that *Dion* would not make any disturbance, nor speak ill of him among the Greeks. This *Plato* strove to effect, by keeping *Dion* employed in his philosophical studies in the academy. He lodged in the city of *Athens*, and bought a country seat, which, on his return to *Sicily*, he gave to *Speusippus*, his most constant companion; for *Plato* endeavoured to soften the austerity of *Dion's* manners, by

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pleasantry of *Speusippus*.

While *Dion* was at *Athens*, it fell to *Plato's* turn to exhibit a public spectacle, and defray the expence of a chorus of boys. *Dion* took the whole charge upon himself: for *Plato*, who studied every occasion of producing him to the public, was well pleased at resigning that honour to him, as his magnificence might render him still more beloved and esteemed by his countrymen. *Dion* visited likewise several of the other cities of *Greece*, where he was entertained by persons of the highest rank, and the most profound statesmen. His conversation and manners were free from every thing rude and unbecoming; he had a modest, simple, and unaffected air, and was particularly distinguished by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. He every where received the highest honours, and the *Lacedæmonians* made him a citizen of *Sparta*, though *Dionysius* at that time actually assisted them with a powerful supply in their war against the *Thebans*. But so many marks of esteem alarming the tyrant's jealousy, he put a stop to the remittance of *Dion's* revenues, and applied them to his own use. However, being afraid that his treatment of *Plato* would make him pass for the enemy of the philosophers, he invited the most learned men of *Italy* to his court, where holding frequent assemblies, he weakly endeavoured to shew, that he excelled them in

eloquence, and the most profound knowledge, very impertinently making use of what he had occasionally learned from *Plato*. This made him perceive what he had lost by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom, once in his possession, and as in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, *Dionysius*, on a sudden, became eagerly bent on recalling him, and not only perswaded *Archytas*, and several other Pythagorean philosophers to write to him, but sent several of his friends to entreat his compliance, and also wrote a letter to him with his own hand, in which he declared, that if he refused to oblige him, *Dion* must expect no favour from him; but upon his arrival, he might dispose of every thing in his power. *Plato* could not resist these warm solicitations, and therefore sailed the third time for *Sicily*.

His arrival revived the hopes of the people, and the joy of *Dionysius* was inexpressible. But after the first civilities were over, *Plato* reminded him of the promises he had made in relation to *Dion*; but he attempted to amuse him with excuses and delays, which occasioned some complaints. *Dionysius* carefully concealed his sentiments on that head, and endeavoured, by the generosity and complacency of his behaviour, to abate *Plato's* friendship for *Dion*. *Plato* dissembled on his side, and though extremely exasperated at so notorious a breach of faith, kept his opinion to himself. While they were upon these terms, and imagined that

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no body penetrated their secret, *Helicon* of *Cyzicum*, one of *Plato*'s followers, foretold an eclipse of the sun; which happening according to his prediction, *Dionysius* was so surprised and astonished, that he made him a present of a talent of silver.

At length the tyrant caused *Dion*'s estate to be sold, and converted the money to his own use, and obliging *Plato* to remove from an apartment he had in the gardens of the palace, gave him a lodging among his guards, who having long hated that philosopher, were desirous of destroying him, from the supposition that he had advised *Dionysius* to renounce the tyranny, disband them, and live with no other guard but the love of his people. *Archytas* * now hearing of *Plato*'s danger, immediately sent a galley with ambassadors to demand him of *Dionysius*, alledging that he was engaged for his safety. Before *Plato*'s departure, *Dionysius* made great entertainments, and shewed him all external marks of kindness; but could not forbear saying, "When thou art at home among the philosophers thy companions, thou wilt doubtless complain of me, and enumerate my faults." To which *Plato* answered smiling, "We shall never, I hope, be so much at a loss for subjects of discourse in the academy, as to talk of thee." Thus, it is said, *Plato* was dismissed; but his own

* *Archytas* the celebrated Pythagorean, was the chief magistrate of *Tarentum* in *Italy*.

writings do not perfectly agree with this relation.

Plato had no sooner quitted *Sicily*, than *Dionysius* threw off all reserve, and married his sister, *Dion*'s wife, contrary to her inclinations, to one of his friends named *Timo-
crates*. This unworthy treatment was, in a manner, the signal of the war: for from that moment *Dion* resolved to attack the tyrant with open force; but *Plato*, on account of the hospitable treatment he had received from *Dionysius*, and his own advanced age, resolved to continue neuter. On the other hand, *Speusippus*, and the rest of *Dion*'s friends, encouraged him to go and restore the liberty of *Sicily*, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was really the disposition of *Syracuse*, which *Speusippus*, while he resided there with *Plato*, had sufficiently experienced: for the inhabitants generally agreed in their wishes and prayers, that *Dion* would undertake the deliverance of his country, and come thither, though without either navy, men, horses, or arms; but embarking in the first vessel he met with, lend the *Sicilians* only his person and name against *Dionysius*.

Dion, the better to conceal his design, employed his friends privately in raising of troops; and many statesmen and philosophers gave him their assistance. But what is very surprizing, of all those *Dionysius* had banished, who were not less than a thousand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition, the

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the rest through fear, declining the undertaking. The isle of *Zacynthus* was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled, which did not amount to 800 men: but they had all signalized themselves in many great engagements; were robust, extremely well disciplined, and such as by their example were proper to encourage and animate the numerous forces *Dion* was in hopes of finding in *Sicily*. Yet these men were no sooner informed that the expedition was against *Dionysius*, than they were filled with consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprize, which they considered as the effect of the utmost rashness and folly: nor were they less offended at their commanders, and those who had enlisted them, without letting them know the design of the war. *Dion* had at this time occasion for all his eloquence to reanimate his troops, and dissipate their fears: but he having informed them, with an assured, though modest tone, that in this expedition he did not lead them as soldiers, but as officers, to place them at the head of the *Syracusans* and all the people of *Sicily*, who had been long prepared for a revolt. they became entirely satisfied, and desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to *Apollo*, marched in procession to the temple at the head of his soldiers, all compleatly armed; and after the sacrifice, gave them a feast in the public *Circus*, or place of exercise

exercise of the *Zacynthians*; on which occasion they were struck with wonder at beholding the multitude of gold and silver vessels, and the tables furnished with a magnificence that seemed to surpass the fortune of a private man, whence they concluded, that one possessed of such treasure, would not engage in so hazardous an enterprize, without well-grounded hopes of success, and a certainty of receiving sufficient supplies from his friends. After the libations and customary prayers, the moon was eclipsed; which gave no surprize to *Dion*, who was well acquainted with the cause; but it being necessary that the soldiers, who were struck with terror, should be satisfied and encouraged, *Miltas*, the diviner, standing up, bid them not be afraid, but expect an happy event, because the gods thus foretold, that something at present glorious and resplendent should be eclipsed and obscured. "Now nothing, added he, can be more resplendent than the tyranny of *Dionysius*; but its lustre will thus be instantaneously extinguished, upon your arrival in *Sicily*."

Dion's troops embarked on board two transports, which were attended by a third not so large, and by two galleys of thirty oars. Besides the arms of his soldiers, he took 2000 shields, a great number of lances and darts, and a vast quantity of provisions; on account of his resolving to keep out at sea for having received advice that *Philitus* with

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a fleet ready to intercept him, was riding at anchor in the bay of *Apulia*, he was unwilling to come near the shore. They sailed during 12 days with a gentle gale, and on the 13th reached *Pachynus*, a promontory of *Sicily*, where the pilot advised them to land immediately; observing that there was reason to fear an hurricane. But *Dion*, being unwilling to make a descent too near the enemy, passed by *Pachynus*, and soon after a furious storm arose, attended with thunder and lightning, which drove his ships to the coast of *Africa*, where they were in danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks: the storm was succeeded by a calm; but at length, a south wind suddenly springing up, they unfurled all their sails, and having made vows to the gods, stood out to sea for *Sicily*. In this manner they ran four days, and on the fifth entered the port of *Manoa*, a small town of *Sicily*, subject to the *Carthaginians*, and governed by *Synalus*, who was *Dion's* particular friend; however, as he did not know it to be *Dion's* fleet, he endeavoured to hinder his men from landing. They made their descent sword in hand, without killing any of their opponents, which *Dion* had strictly forbidden; but forcing them to retreat, they followed them close, entered the place with them, and took possession of it. But the two commanders no sooner met, than they embraced each other, and *Dion* restoring the place uninjured to *Synalus*, he entertained the soldiers, and supplied

supplied *Dion* with whatever he wanted. They would have staid there some time to refresh themselves after the fatigues they had suffered during the storm, had they not been informed that *Dionysius* was absent, he having embarked some days before for the coast of *Italy* attended by eighty vessels. This agreeable news made the soldiers earnestly desire to be led on against the enemy; on which *Dion* marched with them towards *Syracuse*, and his troops were considerably encreased on the road by the great number of those who came from all parts to join him.

The news of his arrival soon reaching *Syracuse*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion*'s wife, the sister of *Dionysius*, and commanded in chief during his absence, dispatched a courier to him, with advice of *Dion*'s progress. But that courier, after his arrival in *Italy*, when almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued with having run the greatest part of the night, that he was obliged to stop to take a little sleep. In the mean time a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the wallet, in which he had likewise deposited his dispatches. Soon after the man awaking, and missing his bag, sought for it a long time, and not finding it, resolved to conceal himself, and not to go to the king without his dispatches. By this means *Dionysius* was prevented for some time from hearing of the ar-

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rival of *Dion*, and then received the news from other hands.

Dion having advanced to the river *Anapus*, which runs about ten furlongs from the city, ordered his troops to halt, and offer a sacrifice on the bank to the rising sun. When all present seeing him with his head encircled with a wreath of flowers, which he wore on account of the sacrifice, soon crowned themselves in the same manner. He had been joined in his march by at least 5000 men, with whom he advanced towards the city. The principal inhabitants came out in white to meet him at the gate; and, at the same time, the populace fell upon the tyrant's spies and informers, a set of impious wretches abhorred by gods and men, who made it their business to disperse themselves into all parts, and to mingle in all companies, in order to inform the tyrant of whatever they said or thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were immediately knocked on the head with staves. When *Timocrates*, not being able to join the garrison in the citadel, took horse, and fled out of the city, filling the places wherever he came with confusion, by his magnifying the number of *Dion*'s forces, in order to justify his having deserted the city.

By this time *Dion* appeared within sight of the walls, marching at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother *Megacles* on one side, and on the other *Callipus* the *Athenian*, both crowned with chaplets of

flowers. He was followed by an hundred of his foreign soldiers, fine troops whom he had chosen for his guard ; next to these marched the rest of the army, with their officers at their head. The *Syracusans* beheld this as a sacred procession, or as the triumphal entry of liberty, after a banishment of forty-eight years.

Dion had no sooner entered the gate, than he commanded the trumpets to sound in order to compose the tumult, and silence being made, an herald proclaimed, *That Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant.* And desiring to harangue the people in person, he marched to the upper part of the city. Wherever he passed, the *Syracusans* had set out on both sides of the streets tables and vessels, and had prepared their victims, and as he marched before their houses threw flowers upon him, addressing their vows and prayers to him as to their tutelar deity. Near the citadel stood a sundial upon an high pedestal, erected by *Dionysius*. *Dion* placed himself upon it, and in a speech to the people, exhorted them to make use of their utmost efforts for the recovery and defence of their liberty. The *Syracusans* transported with joy and gratitude, elected him and his brother generals in chief, and at their desire, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were chosen out of those who had been banished by *Dionysius*, and returned with *Dion*.

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Afterwards he took the castle of *Epipole*, and having set at liberty all the citizens who were confined there, he fortified it with strong works. Seven days after *Dionysius* arrived from *Italy*, and entered the citadel by sea. About the same time a great number of carriages brought *Dion* the arms he had left with *Dinalus*, which he distributed among those of the citizens who were unprovided : all the rest armed themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and readiness for the service.

Dionysius began with sending ambassadors privately to *Dion* ; but he declaring that the *Syracusans* being now free, the overtures they had to make must be made in public, they addressed themselves to the citizens, promising in the name of *Dionysius* to abate their taxes, and that they should not be compelled to serve in the wars. *Dion* answered, that by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny ; to which *Dionysius* did not seem averse, but proceeded to interviews and conferences ; which were nothing more than feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the *Syracusans*, by the flattering hopes of a speedy accommodation. Accordingly having imprisoned the deputies who were sent to treat with him, he the next morning at day-break suddenly attacked, with great part of his troops, the wall with which *Dion* had encompassed the citadel, and having made several breaches in it, his forces fell with loud shouts and such fury upon the *Syracusans*,

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that they all fled except *Dion*'s foreign troops, who taking the alarm, hastened to their relief. *Dion* having in vain endeavoured to stop them, and thinking his example might have greater force than his words, which indeed could not be heard on account of the noise and tumult, rushed fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid bravery, and killed great numbers of them. He was wounded in the hand by a spear; his armour was scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him; and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beat down; but he was immediately rescued and carried off by his soldiers. He left the command to *Timonides*, and mounting his horse, rode thro' the city; rallied those *Syracusans* that fled, and taking the foreign soldiers who had been left to guard the quarter called *Achradina*, led them as a fresh reserve against the enemy, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle, but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were slain, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel, while *Dion* lost only seventy-four men. This being a very signal victory, the *Syracusans* gave each of the foreign soldiers an hundred minæ; and those soldiers to honour *Dion*, presented him a crown of gold.

Soon after heralds came from *Dionysius*, with several letters for *Dion* from the women

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of his family, and with one from *Dionysius* himself. *Dion* caused them all to be read in a full assembly. That of *Dionysius* had the form of a request and justification, intermixed with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to *Dion*, his sister, wife, and son; and was wrote with an art and address adapted to render *Dion* suspected. *Dionysius* put him in mind of the zeal which he had formerly expressed for his government. He exhorted him at a distance, and with some obscurity, though in terms sufficiently intelligible, not to abolish the tyranny entirely, but to preserve it for himself; and advised him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from having a sincere affection for him; nor to abandon his own safety, and that of his relations and friends to the caprice of an inconstant multitude.

This letter was no sooner read, than it had all the effect *Dionysius* could desire. The *Syracusans* overlooking *Dion*'s magnanimity, in forgetting his dearest interests, and even the ties of nature, to restore their liberty, suspected that he lay under invincible obligations to be favourable to *Dionysius*; they therefore began already to think of a new general, and it was with peculiar pleasure they received the news of the arrival of *Heracles*. He was one of those who had been banished by *Dionysius*; he was a good soldier, was well known to the troops, from his having been a considerable commander under the

king; was brave and ambitious, and a secret enemy to *Dion*, with whom he had been at variance in *Peloponnesus*. He came to *Syracuse* with seven galleys and three other vessels, not to join *Dion*, but to make war on the tyrant. He first endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people; for which he was well qualified, by his having naturally a very insinuating address, proper to captivate the multitude, who love to be courted and flattered; while *Dion's* austere gravity was become offensive to them, especially since their late victory, which had rendered them vain and untractable, and made them expect to be treated like a popular state, even before they had in reality obtained their freedom.

The *Syracusans* therefore immediately formed an assembly without being summoned, and chose *Heraclides* admiral: but *Dion* coming unexpectedly thither, and complaining, that by conferring that trust upon *Heraclides*, they cancelled what they had formerly granted to him, since he was no longer general in chief if another commanded at sea, he obliged the *Syracusans* against their will, to deprive *Heraclides* of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, *Dion* invited *Heraclides* to his house, and after some gentle reprimands for so strange a conduct in regard to him, in so delicate a conjuncture, in which the least division might prove fatal, he summoned a new assembly, and in the presence of the whole people, appointed *Heraclides* admiral, and prevailed on

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Heraclides now openly pretended great respect for *Dion*, acknowledging his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality expressive of a mind entirely devoted to his service; but under-hand, by his intrigues and cabals, influenced the people against him, and opposed all his designs, involving him in continual perplexity and disquiet. If he advised permitting *Dionysius* to leave the citadel and retire in safety, he was accused of favouring, and in ending to save him; and if, to satisfy them, he continued the siege, he was reproached with protracting the war, in order to continue in command, and to hold the citizens in subjection.

In the city was a person named *Sofis*, who was distinguished by his impudence, and thought that the perfection of liberty consisted in unbounded insolence and licentiousness of speech. This fellow one day standing up in the assembly, railed at the citizens for their folly, in not perceiving that they had only exchanged a dissolute and drunken tyrant, for a sober and crafty master, and then departed. The next day he ran naked through the streets with his head and face covered with blood, and entering the market-place, told the people that *Dion's* foreign soldiers had lain in wait for him and assaulted him, at the same time shewing them a wound he had received in his head. Most of those

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who were present exclaimed against the cruelty and tyranny of *Dion*, for taking such bloody methods to stop the mouths of the people. But though this was an irregular and tumultuous assembly, *Dion* came to vindicate himself, and proved that this fellow was brother to one of *Dionysius*'s guards; and shewed, that the tyrant having now no other method of providing for his own security, than by taking advantage of their dissentions, had probably employed this man to raise a tumult in the city. The surgeons on searching the wound, found it was only superficial, and not made by a violent blow. Some brought a razor, which they shewed to the assembly, declaring that they had met *Sofis* and heard his complaint, when hastening to take those whom he pretended were pursuing him, they could meet with no man, but found the razor lying near the place from which they observed he came. At length the servants of *Sofis* gave evidence, that he left his house before break of day with a razor in his hand. Upon the hearing of these circumstances *Dion*'s accusers retired, and the people having unanimously condemned *Sofis* to suffer death, were once more reconciled to *Dion*.

The people were, however, still jealous of *Dion*'s foreign troops, and became the more insolent, from an advantage they soon after obtained at sea against *Philistius*, who came with a great fleet to the assistance of *Dionysius*, and whom they treated with great barbarity.

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barity. *Timonides*, who was with *Dion* during all these transactions, in a letter to *Speusippus* the philosopher, says, that *Philistius*'s galley running a-ground, he was taken prisoner, and being disarmed and stripped, was, though an old man, exposed naked to every kind of insult: that afterwards they cut off his head, and giving his body to their children, bid them drag it along the *Achradina*, and then throw it into the quarry.

After the death of *Philistius*, *Dionysius* sent to offer *Dion* the citadel, with all the arms, provisions, and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, on condition of being permitted to retire into *Italy*, where he would spend the rest of his life, on his being allowed the revenue of certain lands in the neighbourhood of *Syracuse*. *Dion* referred him to the *Syracusans*, who being in hopes of shortly taking him alive, dismissed his ambassadors without giving them an audience. On which *Dionysius* leaving *Apollocrates*, his eldest son, to defend the citadel, and putting on board such of his friends as were dearest to him, with his treasures and most valuable effects, took the advantage of a fair wind, and without being perceived by *Heraclides* the admiral, made his escape.

The citizens, now loudly exclaiming against *Heraclides* for his neglect, he, to regain their favour, employed one of their orators to propose an equal division of the lands, alledging, that as liberty was founded on equality, so poverty and slavery were inseparable companions.

companions. As *Dion* opposed this motion, *Heraclides* persuaded the people not only to pass this law, but to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, and to appoint new generals, that they might no longer be subject to the insupportable severity of *Dion's* discipline. To this the *Syracusans* agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, and among the rest *Heraclides*. At the same time they privately solicited the foreign soldiers to abandon *Dion*, and join with them, promising on that condition to make them citizens of *Syracuse*. Those generous troops, however, received the offer with disdain; and placing him in the midst of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are but few examples, made their bodies and arms a rampart for him, and began to conduct him out of the city, without doing the least violence to any one; but severely reproaching all they met, with their perfidy and ingratitude.

The *Syracusans* now contemning them on account of the smallness of their number, and attributing their moderation to their want of courage, fell upon them in the rear, not doubting but that they should put them all to the sword before they got out of the city. *Dion* seeming now reduced to the necessity of either fighting his fellow-citizens, or perishing with his faithful troops, held out his hands to the *Syracusans*, beseeching them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, pointing to the walls of the citadel, which were full of their enemies, who with the

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the utmost joy saw all that passed. But finding that no persuasions could stop the impetuous torrent of the multitude, he commanded his men not to attack them; but only to advance against them in close order, with shouts and clashing of their arms; on which the *Syracusans* being struck with fear, did not dare to stand their ground, but ran away in every street, without being pursued; and *Dion* immediately retreated with his men towards the country of the *Leontines*.

The new officers of the *Syracusans*, now ridiculed by the very women for their cowardly flight, were desirous of retrieving their honour, and making the citizens again take arms, pursued *Dion*, and came up with him as he was passing a river. Some of the horse advanced to skirmish; but they no sooner saw that *Dion*, no longer disposed to bear their insults with a paternal tenderness, had with great indignation made his troops face about, than they were again seized with terror, and turning their backs in a more shameful manner than before, fled with the utmost speed to regain the city, with the loss of a few of their men.

Dion was received by the *Leontines* with great honour and respect. They gave money to his men, made them free of the city, and sent to desire the *Syracusans* to do them justice, and allow them their pay: but in return, they sent an accusation against *Dion*. The affair was tried in a full assembly of the allies at *Leontium*, and the *Syracusans* evidently appeared

peared in fault: but being now grown insolent and free from controul, they refused to stand to the award of their confederates.

Dionysius, about this time, sent a fleet under the command of *Nysfius* the *Neapolitan*, with provisions and money for the garrison. The *Syracusans* came to an engagement with him, and obtaining the victory, took four of his ships. This success, however, proved of fatal consequence; for abandoning themselves to joy, without any leader who had authority to controul them, they neglected all discipline, and both the officers and soldiers gave themselves up to feasting, drinking, and all kinds of debauchery. *Nysfius* knew how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He stormed their works, which when he had taken and destroyed, he permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. The *Syracusans* were in the utmost confusion: many of the citizens, while half asleep, were put to the sword, and their houses plundered, while the women and children were driven into the citadel, without any regard being paid to their tears, their cries, and lamentations. The commanders gave all for lost, they being unable to put the citizens, who were confusedly mixed with the enemy, into a posture of defence.

While they were in this distress, they all turned their thoughts on him who alone could remedy this misfortune, and preserve the city; but, ashamed of their folly and ingratitude, none had the courage to mention

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the name of *Dion*. As the danger every moment encreased, and already approach'd the *Achadrina*, in the midst of their despair, they heard a voice from some of the cavalry of the allies, saying, "Send for *Dion* and his *Peloponnesians* from the *Leontines*." These words were no sooner mentioned, than they were the general cry of the *Syracusans*, who, with tears of intermingled grief and joy, besought the gods to bring him back to them. They immediately dispatched deputies, who posting with full speed, reach'd *Leontium* in the clore of the evening, when leaping from their horses, they threw themselves bathed in tears at *Dion*'s feet, and told him the dreadful extremity to which the *Syracusans* were reduced.

Several of the *Leontines* and *Peloponnesian* soldiers, who had seen them arrive, began to throng about them, and justly imagined from their emotion, and lying prostrate, that something very extraordinary had happened. *Dion* immediately summon'd an assembly, and the people being soon gathered together, the two principal deputies in a few words, explained the greatness of their distress, and begged the foreign troops to forget the ill treatment they had received, as the unfortunate *Syracusans* had suffered much more for the wrong they had done them, than the most injured of those troops would have been willing to inflict.

The deputies having concluded, the whole theatre where the assembly was held conti-

nued silent. *Dion* then stood up, and began to speak, but his grief suppressed his utterance. His soldiers deeply affected, begged him to moderate his sorrow, and proceed. At length, being a little recovered, he expressed himself in these terms, “ Ye men of “ *Peloponnesus*, and you our allies, I have “ assembled you, that you may deliberate on “ what concerns yourselves; as for me, I “ must not deliberate when *Syracuse* is in dan- “ ger. If I cannot preserve it, I will go “ and perish with it, and bury myself in its “ ruins. But for you, if you are resolved “ once more to assist us — us the most im- “ prudent and unfortunate of mankind, “ come and relieve the city of *Syracuse*, from “ henceforth the work of your hands: but if “ your resentment against the *Syracusans* will “ not suffer you to pity and relieve them, “ may you receive from the immortal gods “ the reward you merit for the fidelity and “ affection you have hitherto expressed for “ me. For the rest, I only desire that you “ will remember *Dion*, who did not aban- “ don you when unworthily treated by his “ country, nor his country, when involved “ in misfortunes.”

No sooner had he ceased speaking, than the foreign soldiers, by giving a loud shout, expressed their readiness for the service, and entreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of *Syracuse*. The deputies, in a transport of joy, embraced them, beseeching the gods to bestow on *Dion* and them happiness

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ness and prosperity. When the tumult subsided, *Dion* ordered them to prepare for their march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place: for he resolved to march that very night.

In the mean time, the soldiers of *Dionysius* having done all the mischief they could to the city of *Syracuse*, retired at night to the citadel, with the loss of a few of their number. This short respite revived the courage of the seditious orators, who flattering themselves that the enemy would rest contented with what they had done, exhorted the citizens to think no farther of *Dion*, and not to receive him if he came with his foreign troops to their relief; but instead of yielding to them in courage, to defend their city and their liberties by their own arms and their valour. New deputies were therefore instantly dispatched from the general officers, to forbid his advancing; and from the principal citizens and his friends, to beseech him to hasten his march. These contrary advices induced him to slacken his pace, and advance slowly.

The next night being far advanced, the enemies of *Dion* seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. But at the same instant, *Nysius*, being well informed of every thing that passed, made another sally from the citadel, with greater numbers and more fury than before. They entirely demolished as much of the wall as was left standing, and then began to sack and ravage the city. The

slaughter was now prodigious, not only of the men, but of the women and children: they did not even stop for the sake of plunder, but seemed to have no other view than to ruin and destroy all before them. To prevent the city's being relieved by *Dion*, they had recourse to the swiftest method of destruction, and resolved to lay it in ashes; accordingly they set fire to the places within their power, with torches and firebrands, and discharged flaming arrows at the more distant buildings. The citizens in the utmost distraction, fled every where before these incendiaries. Those who forsook their houses to avoid the fire, were butchered in the streets, and they who fled home for refuge, were forced out again by the spreading flames. Many were burnt, and many were killed in the streets by the fall of the buildings.

This fresh misfortune, with the spreading flames, opened the gates for *Dion*. Instead of keeping them shut against him, couriers after couriers were dispatched to hasten his march. *Heracles* himself, his mortal enemy, deputed first his brother, and then his uncle *Theodotes*, to entreat him to advance with the utmost speed, they being unable to make head against the enemy; for he was wounded, and the greatest part of the city reduced to ashes.

When *Dion* received this news, he was about sixty stadia * from the gates. He com-

* Three or four leagues.

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municated it to the soldiers, and exhorted them to behave with resolution. They no longer marched, but ran forwards, and by the way were met by many persons one after another, who begged them to quicken their pace. They soon arrived at the walls of the city. *Dion* then sent his light-armed troops against the enemy, that the courage of the *Syracusans* might be revived by their presence. He then drew up his heavy armed infantry, and the citizens, who came running on all sides to join him, dividing them into small bodies of greater depth than front, that by attacking at several places at once, they might appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

Then having prayed to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street he was welcomed with acclamations and cries of joy, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the *Syracusans*, who now called *Dion* their deliverer, their tutelar deity, and his soldiers, their brothers and fellow citizens. At that instant there was not a man in the city who did not appear much more in pain for *Dion's* safety than for his own, at seeing him march before them to meet the danger through blood and fire, and over the heaps of dead bodies that lay in his way.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no less terrible; for now, animated by rage and despair, they had posted themselves along the demolished works, which made the

approach to them very hazardous and difficult. Yet what most discouraged *Dion*'s men was the fire, which rendered their march painful and dangerous ; for wherever they turned, they proceeded by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over burning ruins in the midst of fires, exposing themselves to the danger of being crushed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames ; and were obliged to keep their ranks, while they opened their way through dreadful clouds of mingled ashes and smoke.

On their coming up to the enemy, only a few could engage at a time, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground : but at length *Dion*'s soldiers, encouraged and supported by the shouts, and the ardor of the *Syracusans*, fought with redoubled vigour, and forced the troops of *Nysius* to give way. Most of them escaped into the citadel, which was near at hand ; and those who remained without, were pursued and cut to pieces by the foreign troops.

The dreadful condition of the city would not then permit the *Syracusans* to make rejoicings for their victory ; for now all were busily employed in saving the houses that were still left standing, and obliged to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire, which was not done without great difficulty.

The next morning all the seditious orators self-condemned, fled to avoid the punishment

due

due to their crimes. Only *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* surrendered themselves to *Dion*, acknowledging their injurious treatment of him, and begging that he would be more favourable to them than they had been to him: adding, That it became him, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to shew that he also excelled in that greatness of soul, which could conquer the dictates of resentment and revenge, and forgive the ungrateful, who confessed that they were unworthy of his pardon.

Dion's friends however advised him, not to spare men of so vile and malignant a disposition; but by leaving them to the mercy of his soldiers, to root out of the commonwealth the spirit of sedition, a disease as fatal in its consequences as tyranny itself. But *Dion* answered, That other generals solely applied to the means of conquering their enemies: but that he had long studied in the academy the means of subduing anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of the mind. That the signs of this victory are not kindness and affability to our friends, and to persons of merit, but treating those who have injured us with humanity, and being always ready to forgive. That he did not so much desire to appear superior to *Heraclides* in bravery and power, as in wisdom and clemency, in which true and essential superiority consists. " If *Heraclides*, said he, be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, must *Dion* contaminate himself with low resentment? For tho', according

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“ to human laws, it is more just to revenge
“ than to do an injury; if we consult human
“ nature, we shall find that both arise from
“ the same weakness of mind. Besides,
“ there is no disposition so obdurate and fa-
“ vage, as not to be subdued by kindness,
“ and softened by repeated obligations.”
Upon these maxims *Dion* pardoned *Her-
clides*.

Now resolving to inclose the citadel with a new work, he ordered each of the *Syracusans* to go out and cut a large palisadoe. In the night while the *Syracusans* took their rest, he employed his own soldiers, and by the next morning had finished the line of circumval-
lation; so that both the citizens and the ene-
my were astonished at the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution. He next buried the dead, and having redeem-
ed the prisoners, who amounted to 2000, he called a public assembly, in which *Herclides* himself made a motion, that *Dion* should be declared general with supreme authority both by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal; but it was tumultuously opposed by the artificers and sailors, who thinking that *Herclides* would be more ready to gratify the humours of the popu-
lace than *Dion*, were unwilling that he should lose the command of the navy, and *Dion*, to avoid the disturbance, consented; but on their pressing an equal distribution of lands and houses, he opposed it, and repealed

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all the decrees they had made on that head ; which displeased them extremely.

Heraclides, notwithstanding the generous manner in which he had been treated by *Dion*, took advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, and again had recourse to intrigues and cabals ; in his speeches to the soldiers and sailors, he accused *Dion* of a design to render himself absolute, and at length attempted to make himself master of *Syracuse*, and again to shut its gates against his rival. But *Dion* being informed of his design, rendered it ineffectual. Soon after a *Spartan*, who had been sent to the aid of *Syracuse*, negotiated a new accommodation between *Dion* and *Heraclides*, under the most solemn oaths.

The *Syracusans* having laid up their navy, which was of little use, solely applied themselves to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As the besieged received no succours, and their provisions began to fail, the soldiers grew mutinous. On which *Apollocrates*, the son of *Dionysius*, losing all hope, capitulated with *Dion* to surrender the citadel, with all the arms and military engines, on condition of his having five galleys, and his being allowed to retire in safety with his mother and sisters. This being granted by *Dion*, he sailed with them to *Dionysius*. The whole city was filled with joy ; there was scarce a person in the city that did not go to gratify his eyes, with

with beholding from the port so pleasing a spectacle as the retreat of tyranny and oppression.

Apollocrates having set sail, *Dion* went to take possession of the citadel. But the princesses, unable to stay till he entered it, flew to meet him at the gate. *Aristomache* his sister led his son, and behind her came *Arete*, his wife, bathed in tears, fearful and dubious how to salute her husband, after her being so long married to another. *Dion* first embraced his sister, and then his son. After which *Aristomache* presenting to him his wife, said, "O *Dion*! thy banishment involved us all in misery, and thy return and success have delivered us from our sorrows. Accept her whom I had the unhappiness to see compelled to be another's while thou possessed her heart. Fortune has now given thee the sole disposal of us: but how wilt thou determine in relation to her? Shall she salute thee as her uncle? Shall she embrace thee as her husband?" This speech drew tears from the eyes of *Dion*, who tenderly embraced *Arete*, gave her his son, and desired her to retire to his own house, where he intended to reside, and to deliver up the citadel to the *Syracusans* as an evidence of their liberty.

Dion now rewarded with the utmost generosity all who had contributed to his success, according to their rank and merit; but tho' he was at the height of glory, and was the object



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object of the admiration, not only of *Sicily*, but of *Greece* and *Carthage*, who esteemed him the happiest and greatest of men, and inferior to no general in valour and success, yet he preserved the utmost simplicity of manners, and was as modest and plain in his dress, equipage and table, as if he had lived with *Plato* in the academy, and not with people bred in armies, who frequently think debauchery and excess a necessary refreshment after the toils of war. Little affected with the general admiration, his thoughts were always intently fixed upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue, where a judgment was formed of great exploits and successes, not from the external splendor and noise with which they are attended, but from the wise and moderate use made of them. Nor did he lay aside his natural reserve in conversation, or the austerity of his behaviour to the people; though civility and condescension would have been of great advantage in the present situation of affairs. For this *Plato* justly reproved him, by telling him, that *moroseness was the companion of solitude*. But he was an enemy to complaisance and flattery, and was desirous of reforming his countrymen, who were become licentious, dissolute, and capricious.

However, *Heraclides* began again to oppose him, and soon impeached him for not demolishing the citadel, and for hindering the people from opening the tomb of *Dionysius the Elder*, and throwing out the dead body;

body: he also accused him of sending to *Corinth* for counsellors and assistants in the government. *Dion* had indeed prevailed on some *Corinthians* to come to *Syracuse*, with the hopes of their enabling him to new model the government, upon the *Lacedæmonian* and *Cretan* plan, in order to restrain the unlimited power of the people, and establish a constitution in which there would be a due mixture of the aristocratical and popular forms of government. *Dion* being now wearied out by the repeated insults he received from *Heracleides*, who still continued turbulent, factious, and ready to oppose all his measures, listened to the advice of some who were for killing him, though he had formerly prevented their putting that design in execution, and they accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. His death was, however, much resented by the citizens; but on seeing *Dion* solemnize his funeral with great magnificence, follow him in person, at the head of the whole army, and afterwards pronounce an oration to the people, they were appeased: for they were sensible that it would have been impossible to have kept the city free from commotions and sedition while *Dion* and *Heracleides* governed together.

Dion, however, did not long survive this ambitious man. *Calippus* an *Athenian*, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship, while he lodged in his house at *Athens*, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and unbounded confidence, had entreated

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ertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse. He knew that *Dion's* best and most considerable friends were cut off in the war, and that the soldiers had a great regard for himself. These circumstances inspired him with hopes, and throwing off all regard to the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, he formed the villainous and detestable design of murdering his friend and benefactor, who was the sole obstacle to the completion of his ambitious views.

While this conspiracy was forming, *Dion* is said to have seen an hideous spectre, which filled his mind with terror. The phantom seemed a woman of an enormous size, who in her garb, air, and haggard looks, resembled one of the furies, and appeared with a broom in her hand, sweeping the floor. Amazed and terrified, he sent for some of his friends, told them what he had seen, and prevailed on them to stay all night; but the spectre never returned. A few days after, his only son, who was almost grown to man's estate, from some unknown cause, threw himself from the roof of the house, and expired.

Meanwhile *Calippus* proceeded in his conspiracy; but notwithstanding the secrecy with which he carried on his designs, they came to the ears of *Dion's* wife and sister, who instantly spared no pains to discover the truth by making a very strict enquiry. Upon which *Calippus* went to them, and with the appearance of the deepest grief expressed his concern at being thought capable of so black a

crime. They however insisted on his taking what was called the great and solemn oath, which was thus performed. The person who took it went into the temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, and after the performance of some ceremonies, was wrapt in the purple mantle of the goddess *Proserpine*, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced the most dreadful execrations, which he desired might fall on himself in case he was guilty. *Calippus* did as they required; but the princesses daily received new intimations of his guilt, as did *Dion* himself, who was urged by his friends to prevent *Callippus*'s crime by a just and sudden punishment. But to this he could never consent: the death of *Herachides*, which he considered as a blot on his virtue and honour, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination; and tormented by the cruel remembrance which filled him with inquietude and horror. he declared that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and even open his breast himself to the assassin, than live in fear, not only of his enemies but of his friends.

Calippus deferred the murder till the festival of *Proserpine*, the goddess by whom he had sworn. The conspirators were numerous, and as *Dion* was at home with several of his friends, some of these villains surrounded the house, and secured the doors and windows. The assassins were *Zacynthians*, who entering in their ordinary habit and unarmed, rushed upon him, and endeavoured

to stifle him. *Dion* had many guests, but every one of them supposing, that by giving up him, he should save himself, had the baseness to refuse him their assistance. The *Zacynthians*, unable to compleat the horrid scene, called for a sword; but none durst open the door. At length, after having waited a considerable time, a *Syracusan* reached a short sword in at the window, with which one of the assassins instantly stabbed *Dion*, who was already flunneled, and in a maner senseless*.

They then confined his sister, and his wife, who was big with child, and soon after, falling in labour in the prison, was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse herself.

Calippus at first lived with great splendor, and had the sole government of *Syracuse*; but he did not long continue to bring reproach on Fortune and the gods, for suffering the vilest of men to obtain wealth and power by such enormous crimes: for marching with his troops to take *Catana*, *Syracuse* revolted from him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. Then attacking *Messana*, he lost most of his troops, and particularly the *Zacynthian* soldiers who had murdered *Dion*. No city in *Sicily* would now receive *Calippus*, but detesting him as a most execrable wretch, he left that island, and failed to *Italy*, where he took *Rhegium*, and in that city was assassinated

* This happened in the 358th year before the birth of our Saviour.

by *Leptines* and *Polyperchan*, with the very sword with which *Dion* had been murdered, which was known by its size and curious workmanship.

As for *Aristomache* and *Arete*, on their being released from prison, *Ictes*, one of *Dion*'s friends, received them into his house, and for some time entertained them with great kindness: but at last, basely complying with *Dion*'s enemies, he put them on board a ship, under the pretence of sending them into *Peloponnesus*; but ordered the sailors when they were out at sea to murder them, and then throw them over board. Others say, that both they and the infant were thrown alive into the sea. This man also received the due reward of his crimes; for being at length taken by *Timoleon**, he was put to death, and the *Syracusans*, to avenge *Dion*, slew his two daughters.

* See the life of *Timoleon*; which may be considered as a continuation of the history of *Sicily* after the death of *Dion*, vol. ii. p. 151.





THE
L I F E
O F
MARCUS BRUTUS.

HIS great man was descended from *Junius Brutus*, to whom a statue of brass was erected in the capitol by the ancient *Romans*, among those of their ancient kings, holding a drawn sword in his hand, in remembrance of the bravery with which he expelled *Tarquin* *. His mother *Servilia* was descended from *Servilius Abala*, who was also a generous defender of the liberty of the *Romans*, and rendered himself famous by slaying *Spurius Mælius*, who attempted to make

* See the life of *Poplicola*, in the first volume of this work.

himself king. This account of his descent on the mother's side is universally granted ; but those who hated him on account of the murder of *Cæsar*, would not allow him to be descended from that *Brutus* who was the author of the *Roman* liberty, but say, that he was of a plebeian family, that had been but lately raised to any office or dignity in the commonwealth. However *Possidonius* the philosopher maintains, that though history mentions two of the sons of *Brutus*, who fell by their father's hand ; a third, who was an infant, survived, from whom the family was propagated down to *Marcus Brutus*, and that he was acquainted with several famous persons of that family, whose countenances resembled that of the statue of *Junius Brutus*.

Servilia was sister to *Cato* the philosopher, whom *Brutus* admired and strove to imitate, and he afterwards married *Portia*, *Cato*'s daughter. He was a hearer of all the sects of the *Greek* philosophers, and made some proficiency in the doctrines of each ; but he chiefly esteemed the *Platonists*. In *Latin*, he spoke well, both in haranguing his soldiers and pleading causes ; and was also skilled in *Greek*, in which language he affected the *Laconic* style.

While very young he accompanied his uncle *Cato* to *Cyprus* in an expedition against *Ptolemy* ; but the latter having put an end to his life, *Cato*, who was detained by some necessary business in the isle of *Rhodes*, sent *Caninius*, one of his friends, to take care of that king's treasures ; but afterwards suspecting his

his fidelity, he wrote to *Brutus*, who staid in *Pamphylia* to recruit his strength, after a fit of illness, to sail instantly to *Cyprus*, and take that charge upon him. This order he obeyed with great reluctance, both from his respect to *Caninius*, and his thinking that such a commission did not become a young man addicted to learning. He however executed it with such care and diligence, that *Cato* gave him high commendations, and having turned all the goods of *Ptolemy* into ready money, brought it with him to *Rome*.

When *Pompey* and *Cæsar* took up arms against each other, and threw the whole empire into confusion, it was generally thought that *Brutus* would have joined the latter; for *Pompey* had not long before put his father to death; which *Brutus* had so far resented, that when he met him he would not take any notice of him; for he esteem'd it very criminal to have the least conversation with the murderer of his father. But now, thinking that his own private resentments ought to give way to the interest of the public, and judging *Pompey*'s to be the better cause, he listed himself under his command, and set sail for *Sicily*, in the rank of lieutenant to *Seftius*, who had the government of that island: however, finding there was no opportunity of distinguishing himself in any great action, and hearing that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were preparing for a battle that was to determine the fate of the whole empire, he, of his own accord, went to *Macedonia* to share in the danger. It is

is said that *Pompey* was so pleased at seeing him, that rising from his chair, he saluted and embraced him in the sight of all his guards, treating him with the respect due to a superior. All the time he was in the camp, except that he spent in *Pompey's* company, he employed in reading and in study ; and even the day preceding the battle of *Pharsalia*, which was very hot and fatiguing, while the rest slept, or ruminated on the morrow's event, *Brutus* spent his time in writing an epitome of *Polybius*.

Cæsar is said to have had so great a regard for *Brutus*, that he directed his commanders not to kill him in the battle ; and if he would willingly surrender himself, to bring him safe to him ; but if he made any resistance, to suffer him to escape, rather than to hurt him. This is supposed to have proceeded from his affection to *Servilia*, *Brutus's* mother, with whom *Cæsar* had, in his youth, been very intimate, and she had been passionately in love with him. Thus as *Brutus* was born when their love was at the height, *Cæsar* had reason to think that he was his father.

Pompey on being defeated at *Pharsalia*, fled towards the sea, and while *Cæsar's* army was storming the camp, *Brutus* privately escaped out of one of the gates to a marshy place covered with reeds, from whence venturing out in the night, he reached *Larissa*, whence he wrote to *Cæsar*, who expressed great joy at hearing of his safety, and having sent for him, not only freely forgave him, but kept him

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him with him, and treated him with great kindness. When none could certainly tell which way *Pompey* had fled, *Cæsar* walked out with *Brutus*, to endeavour to learn his opinion, and after some discourse, finding his conjectures most probable, entered into his sentiments, and marched towards *Egypt*; but though *Pompey* had, as *Brutus* supposed, reached *Egypt*, he had the misfortune to be murdered there.

Such power had *Brutus* with *Cæsar*, that he brought him to be reconciled to his friend *Cassius*; and when he spoke in behalf of the King of *Africa**, against whom many important accusations were brought, he by the force of his entreaties, secured him a great part of his dominions. At the first opening of this cause, *Cæsar* said to his friends, “I “don’t know what this young man intends, “but whatever it be, he is resolved to pro-“secute it with vigour.” Indeed his firm mind, which was solely actuated by reason, and the principles of virtue and honour, always proceeded with a vigour and impetuosity that made him generally accomplish whatever he undertook. No flattery could ever prevail on him to listen to an unjust request; for he thought it scandalous and unworthy a great man to be overcome by the importunity of suitors, for want of the resolution to

* *Plutarch* here means *Juba*, who joining his forces to those commanded by *Scipio*, had been defeated by *Cæsar*.

deny a person to his face; and he used to say, that he suspected those had not passed their youth very wisely, who had not learned to say No.

As *Cæsar* was going to make an expedition into *Africa* against *Cato* and *Scipio*, he committed the government of *Gallia Cisalpina* to *Brutus*, which was of the greatest advantage to that province; for while the inhabitants of other provinces suffered as much from the avarice and cruelty of their governors, as they could have done had they been slaves and captives, *Brutus* behaved to those under him, in such a manner, as to make them amends for all their former calamities, though he gave the whole praise to *Cæsar*, who was delighted, when in his return he passed through *Italy*, at seeing the cities under the command of *Brutus*, and *Brutus* himself studious to do him honour, and attending him in his progress.

At length several *Prætorships* being vacant, every one thought the chief, called the *Prætorship* of the city, would be conferred either on *Brutus* or *Cæsarius*, and their contention for this post occasioned some animosity between them. *Brutus* had here only his great reputation for honour and virtue to oppose to the many brave actions performed by *Cæsarius* against the *Particians*. *Cæsar* having heard both sides, afterwards deliberated among his friends, to whom he said, “ *Cæsarius* indeed pleads with most justice, but *Brutus* must have the first *prætorship*.” He therefore gave another *prætorship* to *Cæsarius*, who

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who was less obliged by obtaining that, than he was incensed for the loss of the other. In every thing *Brutus* had as great a share of *Cæsar's* power as he desired; for he might have had the first place in his friendship, and have been the principal person next to *Cæsar* in authority: but he was warned by *Cassius's* party to be on his guard, and was perpetually advised, not to suffer himself to be melted and softened by *Cæsar*; but to shun the caresses and favours of a tyrant, which were intended not to do honour to his virtue, but to unbend his strength, and to slacken his spirit and vigour. Nor were there wanting persons who continually accused *Brutus*. *Cæsar*, however, thought himself secure in his virtue; but yet was not without some suspicions: for being told that *Antony* and *Dolabella* were meditating some dangerous enterprize, he answered; "I fear not the fat and the sleek, " but the pale and the lean," meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Afterwards when some advised him to beware of *Brutus*, laying his hand on his breast, he said, "What do you think that *Brutus* will not wait out the time of this frail body?" as if he thought of making *Brutus* his successor. It appears indeed certain that *Brutus* might have been the first man in the commonwealth, could he have had patience for a short time to be second to *Cæsar*; and if he could have insensibly suffered his power to decay, and the fame of his great actions by degrees to wither and die away.

Cassius,

Cassius, who was of a fierce disposition, continually inflamed him against *Cæsar*; for, 'tis said, that rather out of private malice, than love of the public, he hated *Cæsar*; from whom he pretended that he had received many injuries; but from his youth he had an aversion to the whole race of tyrants, which he shewed when he was but a boy, and went to the same school as *Faustus*, *Sylla*'s son, who boasting of his father's despotic power, *Cassius* struck him two or three blows on the face. The relations of *Faustus* designed to prosecute him for it; but *Pompey* forbad them, and sending for both the boys, examined them himself. When *Cassius* is reported to have boldly said, "Come, *Faustus*, speak, if thou darest, before this man, the words that provoked me, that I may strike thee again, as I did before."

To rouze and animate *Brutus* to engage in the murder of *Cæsar*, many expressions were dropped; anonymous letters were written to him; under the statue of *Brutus* who expelled *Tarquin* was wrote, *O that we had a Brutus now!* and *O that Brutus was alive!* Besides the tribunal on which *Brutus* sat as prætor, was every morning filled with such inscriptions as these: *Thou, Brutus, art asleep, Thou, art not a true Brutus.*

Cassius having sollicited his friends to engage in the conspiracy against *Cæsar* they all consented, on condition that *Brutus* would be at their head; for they imagined that his virtue and reputation would justify the action; and

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and every body would think, that if it was not just and honourable, *Brutus* would have refused to engage in it. *Cassius* therefore made *Brutus* the first visit after their quarrel, and the reconciliation being over, asked him, if he designed to be present at the calends of *March*, when it was said that *Cæsar's* friends intended to propose his being crowned king. *Brutus* answered, that he would not be there. "But what if they should send for us?" replied *Cassius*. It will then, returned "Brutus, be my business strenuously to defend the cause of liberty, though death should be the consequence." *Cassius*, encouraged by this answer, warmly returned, "But what *Roman* will suffer thee to die? "Can't thou be ignorant, O *Brutus*! of thine own worth? Or can't thou think that the inscriptions thou hast read on thy tribunal were put there by the vulgar, and not by the principal and most powerful persons in the republic? Let other prætors display their munificence, and exhibit public shews and combats of gladiators: from thee they claim the extirpation of tyranny, as a debt due to thy name, and to the glory of thine ancestors. The honest citizens are ready to run all hazards in thy defence, if thou wilt but convince them that they may depend on thee."

Among *Pompey's* party was one *Quintus Lælius*, whom *Cæsar* had pardoned, but he feeling less gratitude for having been forgiven, than indignation at the unjust power which

which made him need forgiveness, hated *Cæsar*. This person, being one of *Brutus's* most intimate friends, he paid him a visit, and finding him indisposed, cried, “O *Ligarius*, what a time is this to be sick in.” On which *Ligarius* raising himself at his elbow, took *Brutus* by the hand, and said, “O *Brutus*, if thou art forming any design worthy of thyself, I am well.” From that time they took all their friends into the conspiracy, whom they imagined could bravely despise death. But though they entirely confided in *Cicero*, for whom they had a great affection, they concealed the plot from him; he being naturally timorous, and besides had the wariness of old age, whence they feared, lest he should blunt the edge of their resolution. The very name of *Brutus* now brought many persons of the highest rank to join the conspirators, who, though they took no oath of secrecy, nor made use of any other sacred rite, as a pledge of their fidelity, conducted the affair with the most amazing privacy, caution and silence.

As *Brutus* had taken upon himself the management of so hazardous an enterprize in which were engaged the greatest persons in *Rome*, both with respect to virtue, birth and courage, whose fate depended on his conduct, he was sufficient master of himself to preserve an air of serenity free from all suspicion, during the day, and in public; but on his retiring to his family, and especially in the night, he was unable to maintain the same

constancy, and his wife perceived, that his mind was agitated by some great design, some agonizing care, which he strove to conceal. Her love made her desirous of sharing in his inquietude: but she resolved not to enquire into *Brutus's* secrets, till she had made a very extraordinary trial of her own constancy and resolution. Having sent all her attendants out of her room, she took a small knife, and stabbed herself with it in the thigh. The wound was attended with a great effusion of blood, and the anguish she felt, soon brought on a fever. *Brutus* was in the deepest affliction and consternation, when *Porcia* in the extremity of her sufferings, addressed him in the following manner: "I, *Brutus*, being the daughter of *Cato*, was given thee in marriage, not like a concubine, to share thy bed and table, but to partake of thy good or ill fortune. Thou indeed hast never given me cause to repent my marriage; but what evidence, what return of my love canst thou receive, if I may not share with thee in thy most hidden griefs? Women in general, I know seem too weak to be trusted with secrets; but a virtuous education, and suitable company have a great influence on the disposition and manners, even of women; and who has a better right to boast of these advantages than the daughter of *Cato*, and the wife of *Brutus*? Yet in these titles I would not place an absolute confidence; I have therefore tried, and find that even

“against pain itself I am invincible.” On saying this she shewed him her wound, and related the whole trial she had made of her constancy: at which filled with astonishment, he with up-lifted hands implored the gods, that by succeeding in his enterprize, he might shew himself a husband worthy of such a wife. He afterwards communicated to her the whole scheme of the conspiracy, and took all proper care to have her wound cured, and her health restored.

As a meeting of the senate was appointed, at which it was generally supposed that *Cæsar* would be present, it was agreed to seize that opportunity, when they might appear all together without suspicion. Besides, they hoped that they should be supported by all the other considerable persons in the republic, who, they imagined, as soon as the dictator should be slain, would publicly espouse the cause of liberty. The very circumstance of the place where the senate was to assemble seemed a good omen; it being within a portico adjoining to the theatre, where was a hall, in which stood a statue of *Pompey*, erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with the theatre and porticos; so that it seemed to them as if the gods had brought *Cæsar* thither, to revenge on him the death of *Pompey*.

The day being come, *Brutus* took a dagger and went abroad. The rest met at *Cætius's* house, and conducted his son (who was that day to put on what they called the manly gown)



BRUTUS and PORTIA.

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gown) into the Forum, and from thence proceeding to Pompey's porch, waited there till *Cæsar* came. Any spectator who had known the secret, would have been struck with admiration at their resolution and intrepidity; for though they were on the point of executing so hazardous an enterprize, they preserved the utmost serenity in their looks and actions. Some who were praetors actually sat as judges, hearing the pleadings with all the presence of mind imaginable, discussing the points that arose in the proceedings, and giving such judgment as the nature of the case required. And when a person whom *Brutus* had condemned, threatened to appeal to *Cæsar*, *Brutus* with great indifference replied, " *Cæsar* neither does, nor will, prevent my seeing the laws observed."

They were however disturbed by many accidents, among which was the long stay of *Cæsar*, who was detained by his wife, and by the soothsayers. *Casca*, one of the conspirators, had like to have divulged the secret, on an ambiguous compliment paid to him. One of his acquaintance taking him by the hand, said, " You thought to be very secret; but *Brutus* has told me all." Struck with amazement, had he immediately replied, he would have discovered the whole, but the other, added, with a smile, " What then, my friend, are you on a sudden grown rich enough to stand for the aedileship?" These words composed *Casca*, who trembled at the danger

his inadvertency had like to have led him into. *Popilius Læna*, a senator, having obligingly saluted *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whispered, “ I wish “ your design may succeed, and advise you not “ to defer it ; for it is no longer a secret.” Then going away, left them in great consternation.

Brutus himself was obliged to support a most violent shock ; word being brought that *Porcia*, his wife, was dying. When the important moment for putting the design in execution came, she was seized with a dreadful pannic, and the most painful suspense. She could scarce stay within doors ; she was alarmed at the least noise ; she enquired of every one who came from the Forum, if any accident had happened to *Brutus*, and sent messenger after messenger for information. At length, after a tedious suspense, she grew pale, her spirits failed her, she fainted away, her attendants carried her with great difficulty to her chamber, and an account of the accident was sent to *Brutus*, who was deeply afflicted ; but he would not suffer his private concerns, how tender and affecting soever, to make him neglect the cause he had engaged to patronize : for now news was brought that *Cæsar* was coming in a litter : discouraged at the ill omens that attended his sacrifice, he resolved to undertake no affair of importance, but to defer them till another time, under the pretence of his being sick.

Cæsar no sooner came out of the litter, than *Popilius Læna*, who, but a little before had

wished

wished *Brutus* success, went up to him, and discoursed with him a considerable time, *Cæsar* standing very attentive. The conspirators being unable to hear what was said, but guessing that *Læna* was discovering their design were filled with consternation, and looking at each other, agreed by signs not to wait till they were seized, but to kill themselves, to escape the ignominy of a public execution. *Cætius* and some others had already laid their hands on the daggers they concealed under their robes, when *Brutus* narrowly viewing the looks and gestures of *Læna*, perceived that he appeared rather as a suppliant, than an accuser, and having no opportunity in so mixed a company of speaking to his associates, he by the cheerfulness of his countenance endeavoured to encourage them. In effect, after some minutes farther conversation, *Læna*, kissing the dictator's hand, retired, and *Cæsar* went into the senate, who had before entered the place where they were to sit.

The conspirators immediately crowded about *Cæsar*'s chair, under the pretence of having some suit to make to him, while *Cætius*, casting his eyes on *Pompey*'s statue, is said to have invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. In the mean time *Trebonius* drew *Antony* towards the door, where he kept him in talk. *Cæsar* now entering, the whole senate rose up, and he was no sooner seated, than *Tullius Cimber*, one of the conspirators, interceded for his brother who was banished,

banished, and all the rest joining their entreaties with his, took *Cæsar* by the hand, and kissed his head and breast. He, however, rejected their supplications, and finding they would not desist, rose up; on which *Tullius* taking hold of his robe with both his hands, dragged it off his shoulders, and *Casca* who stood behind, gave him a slight stab near the shoulder. *Cæsar* catching hold of the dagger, cried out aloud in *Latin*, “Villain! “what dost thou mean?” *Casca* called to his brother in *Greek* to come to his assistance. *Cæsar* being now wounded by many hands, and casting his eyes around to see if there was any way to escape, he no sooner beheld *Brutus* with his dagger drawn against him, than letting go *Casca*’s hand, and covering his head with his robe, he gave up his body to their daggers. So eagerly did they press about him, and so many weapons were aimed at him at once, that the conspirators cut one another; particularly *Brutus*, who striving to have a share in the slaughter, had his hand wounded, and all were besmeared with blood*.

Cæsar having thus fallen, *Brutus* stepped forth into the midst of the senate-house, in order to make a speech on the occasion; but though he called to the senators, and encouraged them to stay, they were so frightened,

* *Cæsar* was thus killed in the 708th year of *Rome*, and the 44th before the birth of our Saviour. He was then in the 56th year of his age.
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that they pressed to the door in the utmost confusion, and fled, though none pursued them, the conspirators having resolved to kill no body but *Cæsar*, and to invite all the rest to liberty. When this design was formed, they were of opinion, that it was necessary to cut off *Antony* as well as *Cæsar*, he being a friend to monarchy, and besides his natural ambition and haughtiness, was not only consul and colleague with *Cæsar*, but had a powerful interest in the army. But this advice was opposed by *Brutus*, who thought it unjust, and flattered himself with the hopes that *Antony*, being inflamed by their attempt, with a noble emulation, would seize this occasion of joining with them in restoring the liberty of his country. Thus *Brutus* saved the life of *Antony*, who, in the general consternation, slipped on a plebeian habit, and fled.

Brutus, and the rest of the conspirators, now betook themselves to the Capitol, and in their way shewing their hands and daggers stained with blood, proclaimed liberty to the people. All places were instantly filled with lamentations, and the whole city was in a tumult: but no other person being killed, nor any acts of violence committed, both the senators, and many of the people took courage, and went to confer with the conspirators in the Capitol, where *Brutus* made an oration to them suitable to the present occasion, which had such success, that they invited the conspirators to come down, and re-

pair

pair to the Forum: to this they consented; but while the rest went promiscuously, *Brutus* was attended by many of the most eminent quality, who conducted him in the midst of them, and placed him on the Rostrum. The people, though before disposed to make a tumult, were struck with reverence at the sight of *Brutus*; they waited to hear him with modesty and silence, and when he began to speak, listened to him with attention. But it soon appeared that they were far from being pleased; for *Cinna* beginning to accuse *Cæsar*, they suddenly flew into a rage, and treated him with the most opprobrious language. This induced the conspirators to return to the Capitol, where *Brutus* expecting to be besieged, dismissed the most eminent of those who accompanied him thither, thinking that it would be unjust that they who had no hand in the fact should have a share in their danger.

However, the next day the people being assembled in the temple of *Tellus*, *Antony*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero*, in their several orations, urging a mutual reconciliation, it was not only decreed that the conspirators should be pardoned, but that the consuls should determine what honours should be conferred upon them. The senate then broke up, and *Antony* having sent his son as an hostage to the Capitol, *Brutus* and his accomplices came down, and after mutual salutations had passed, *Lebidus* invited *Brutus* to supper, *Antony* did the

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the same to *Cassius*, and the rest were invited and treated by others who were their friends.

The next morning at break of day, the senate again assembled, and ordered thanks to be returned to *Antony* for having staved the beginning of a civil war. *Brutus* and his comrades then also received the thanks of the senate, and had provinces distributed among them. *Brutus* had *Crete*; *Cassius*, *Africa*; *Trebonius*, *Asia*; and *Cimber*, *Bithynia*.

They next began to consider of *Cæsar's* will, and of his funeral. *Antony* desired that the will might be read, and the body receive an honourable interment. This was violently opposed by *Cassius*; but *Brutus* consented. He was before to blame in sparing the life of *Antony*, who was so formidable an enemy to the conspirators: but he now fell into an irrecoverable error, in suffering him to have the management of the funeral. For first, *Cæsar* having bequeathed to every *Roman* citizen seventy-five drachmas*, and made a present to the people of his gardens beyond the *Tiber*, the whole city was filled with affection for him, and the deepest sorrow for his loss. Afterwards the body being brought into the *Forum*, *Antony* made a funeral oration in praise of *Cæsar*; in which he unfolded his bloody garment, shewed them in how many places it had been pierced, and what was the number of his wounds. This inspired the populace with rage and fury; some

* That is 2l. 6s. 11d. $\frac{1}{2}$ sterl.

called

called out to kill the murderers, others seized the benches and tables of the shopkeepers, and heaping them together, raised a great funeral pile, then placing the body of *Cæsar* upon it, set it on fire. The flames no sooner began to spread, than the multitude, snatching out of the pile brands half consumed, ran about the city to burn the houses of the conspirators; but they being prepared to receive them, obliged them to retire.

This fury proved fatal even to one of *Cæsar*'s friends. A certain poet named *Cinna**, dreamed that he saw the dictator, who invited him to supper, and upon his refusal, seized him by the hand, and led him into a deep and dark abyss. This dream gave him such terror, as to throw him into a kind of feverish disorder. However, hearing in the morning that the body of *Cæsar* was to be carried forth to be interred, he was unwilling to avoid paying the last mark of respect to his memory, he therefore came abroad, and mingled with those who had thus been enraged by *Antony*'s speech, when a person calling him by his name, was heard by some who did not know him, and they mistaking him for the prætor *Cornelius Cinna*, who a day or two before had declaimed against *Cæsar*, the multitude immediately surrounded him, and tore him to pieces.

* This was *Helvius Cinna*, who had formerly been tribune.

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'This action, together with the alteration in *Antony's* conduct, so alarmed *Brutus* and his party, that they retired to *Antium*, intending to return again as soon as the fury of the people had spent itself, which they imagined would soon happen, from the natural inconstancy of the multitude; especially as the senate was so favourable to them, that though they had taken no notice of those who had murdered *Cinna*, they had strictly sought for, and apprehended the men who had assaulted the houses of the conspirators.

At length the people began to be displeased with *Autony*, who seemed to be erecting a kind of monarchy for himself, and wished for the return of *Brutus*, that he might be present at the games and shews, which, as *prætor*, he was to exhibit to the public. But he being informed, that many of the old soldiers who had served under *Cæsar*, lay in wait for him, and had entered the city in small parties, did not chuse to venture thither; however, he caused magnificent shews to be exhibited to the people.

Things were in this situation when *Octavius* arrived at *Rome*, he was son to the sister of *Cæsar*, who had adopted him, and by his will made him his heir. When *Cæsar* was slain, he was following his studies in *Apollonia*, where he staid in expectation of seeing him on his march, in an expedition against the *Parthians*. *Octavius*, therefore, no sooner heard of his death, than he came to *Rome*, and to gain the favour of the people, not

only assumed the name of *Cæsar*, but distributed among the citizens the money the dictator had left them. By this means he soon obtained the advantage of *Antony*; and at the same time, by the money he dispersed among the soldiers, he brought over to his party a great number of those who had served under *Cæsar*. *Cicero* himself, from his hatred to *Antony*, sided with *Octavius*, which *Brutus* resented, by writing to him with very great severity.

Rome being now divided into two factions, some siding with *Octavius*, and others with *Antony*, and the soldiers selling themselves to the highest bidder, *Brutus* resolved to leave *Italy*, and pass'd by land to *Elea*. *Porcia*, who had followed him thither; but was obliged to leave him in order to return to *Rome*, was filled with grief at this separation, which she strove to conceal from every body; but in spite of her resolution, it was discovered by a picture she accidentally found there. This was the parting of *Hector* and *Andromache*: the hero was represented delivering his young son *Ajax* into her arms. On her seeing this piece, the resemblance of her own situation to that of *Andromache*, made her burst into tears: several times a day she walked about the place where this picture hung, fixed her eyes upon it, and wept. From this circumstance *Acilius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, took occasion to apply these verses, which *Homer* puts into the mouth of *Andromache*:

*Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee.*

POPE.

On which *Brutus* answered with a smile, “But
“ I must not say to *Porcia* as *Hector* does to
“ *Andromache*,

— *Haften to thy tasks at home,
There guide the spindle and direct the loom.*

POPE.

“ For, added he, though through the weak-
“ ness of her sex she is incapable of perform-
“ ing exploits equal to our’s, yet she has a
“ mind as brave, and as active for the good
“ of her country as any of us.”

Brutus sailed from thence to *Athens*, where he was received by the people with loud ac- clamations, and public honours were decreed him. He lived there with a particular friend, was a constant auditor of the philosophers, and was so engaged in philosophical conver- sations, that he appeared to have laid aside all thoughts of public business, and to have devoted himself entirely to study: but while he thus lived unsuspected, he secretly prepared for war; for he sent *Herostratus* into *Macedo- nia* to gain the commanders that were there, while by his kindness he insured the affections of the young *Romans* who were then students at *Athens*, among whom was *Cicero*’s son.

Brutus began at length to act openly : being informed that some Roman ships laden with money were coming from *Asia*, and were commanded by *Antistius*, one of his friends, he went to meet him near *Caryclus*, a city of *Eubœa*, and received from that commander 500,000 drachmas. The remains of *Pompey's* army, which after their general's defeat, had wandered about *Thessaly*, then chearfully joined him ; and he took from *Cinna* 500 horse, which he was conducting to *Dolabella* in *Asia*. Afterwards, sailing to *Demetrias*, he there seized a great quantity of arms, which *Cæsar* had provided for the *Parthian* war, and were now designed to be sent to *Anthony*. *Hortensius* the *prætor* delivered *Macedonia* into his hands, and besides, all the neighbouring princes offered to join him.

Soon after hearing that *Ca'sus*, *Anthony's* brother, was marching to join the forces commanded by *Gabinius* in *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, Brutus resolved to attempt to seize those troops before his arrival, and therefore hastened thither. His march through rugged places in a great snow was so expeditious, that those who brought the provisions were left far behind ; so that on his approaching *Dyrrachium*, he was extremely faint with fatigue and hunger, and there being none in his army who had any provisions, his servants were obliged to have recourse to the enemy, and going to the very gates desired some bread of the centinels upon duty, who no sooner heard of the distress of Brutus, than they

they themselves brought him meat and drink. In return for this act of humanity, *Brutus*, on his taking the city, treated not only them, but all the rest of the inhabitants with great kindness.

In the mean time *Caius Antonius* arriving at *Apollonia*, summoned all the soldiers in the neighbourhood of the city to join him there; but finding that they all went over to *Brutus*, and suspecting that even those in the city would follow their example, he quitted *Apollonia*, and advanced to *Buthrotus*, but lost three cohorts, which were cut to pieces by *Brutus* in his march thither. Afterwards attempting to recover some posts seized by *Brutus*, he was defeated by young *Cicero*, to whom *Brutus* that day gave the command of the army. Soon after *Caius Antonius* was surprized in a marsh, from whence he could not retire; when *Brutus* surrounding him with his cavalry, gave orders that none of the enemy should be slain, because in a short time they would all be on his side, and accordingly they soon surrendered both themselves and their general. *Brutus*, who had now a very considerable army, treated *Caius Antonius* for a long time with marks of honour and esteem, though it is said, he received letters from several persons at *Rome*, and particularly from *Cicero*, advising him to put him to death: but at last, perceiving that he tampered with his officers, and was raising a sedition among the soldiers, he confined him on board a ship.

While *Brutus* was preparing to pass into *Asia*, he was informed that *Octavius*, whom the senate assisted in opposition to *Antony*, had obtained the consulship, though he was only in the 20th year of his age, and had caused a judicial process to be commenced against him and his accomplices for having murdered the greatest man, and the highest magistrate of *Rome*, appointing *Lucius Cornificius* to accuse *Brutus*, and *Marcus Agrippa* to accuse *Cassius*, who not appearing, the judges were obliged to condemn them both. It is said, that when the crier cited *Brutus* to appear, the people were unable to suppress their sighs, and those of the highest quality hung down their heads in silence. *Publius Silicius*, for only being seen to burst into tears, was soon after set down in the list of the proscribed.

The *Triumviri*, consisting of *Cæsar*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus*, now shared the provinces among themselves, and drew up a list of *Roman* citizens who had a price set on their heads. *Cicero* was unhappily one of those who perished on this occasion. This being told to *Brutus*, he sent *Hortensius* orders to put *Caius Antonius* to death, to revenge the murder of his friend *Cicero*, and that of *Brutus* his kinsman, who was likewise proscribed and slain. Upon this account *Antony*, having afterwards taken *Hortensius* in the battle of *Philippi*, slew him on his brother's tomb.

Brutus having caused his army to pass into *Asia*, gave orders for getting ready a fleet in

Bithynia

Bithynia and at *Cyzicum*. During his march, he regulated the affairs of all the cities, and gave audience to the princes through whose dominions he passed. He likewise sent to desire *Cassius*, who was in *Syria*, to come to him, and leave his intended journey into *Egypt*. *Cassius* obeyed, and *Brutus* setting out to meet him, they had their first interview at *Smyrna*. The forces each had assembled filled them with joy, and rendered them confident of success. On their leaving *Italy*, they seemed to fly from thence like despicable exiles, without money, without arms, without a soldier, or even a city on which they could rely; yet, in a short time, they now met well provided with ships and money, and with an army of horse and foot sufficient to enable them to contend for the empire of *Rome*. They treated each other with mutual respect. *Cassius* was generally esteemed an expert soldier; but hot and passionate; desiring to be obeyed through fear, rather than from love; though among his friends he indulged himself in mirth and raillery: but the virtue of *Brutus* procured him the esteem of the people, the love of his friends, and the admiration of every good man; even his enemies could not hate him: for though he was steady and inflexible in his opinion, and zealous in the support of whatever he thought just and honourable; he was at the same time endued with such mildness and magnanimity, as not to be overcome by anger, avarice, or the love of pleasure; and always shewed the greatest

greatest justice and integrity in all his undertakings.

Before they left *Smyrna*, *Brutus* desired *Cassius* to give him some of the treasure he had collected; because he had expended his own in fitting out a fleet sufficient to give them the command of the sea: *Cassius* complied with this request, and having given him a third part, they separated.

Brutus now sent to demand a supply of men and money from the *Lycians*; but animated by an orator named *Nauclerates*, the inhabitants took possession of several eminences in order to hinder *Brutus*'s passage. Upon this he ordered out a party of horse, which falling upon them when they were at dinner, killed 600 of them: he afterwards took all their small towns, and released the prisoners without ransom, hoping by his humanity to win over the whole nation. But provoked at their losses, they despised the clemency of the conqueror. The bravest of them shut themselves up in the city of *Xanthus*, and *Brutus* was obliged to besiege them there in form. He soon reduced them to despair of safety but by flight, when several endeavoured to make their escape over a river which ran by the town, by swimming and diving; but the *Romans* deprived them even of this resource, by stretching out nets which had little bells at the top, that gave notice when any of them were entangled. At length the *Xanthians* made a sally in the night, and coming up to the battering engines set them on fire;

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* The *Xan* that pr

fire ; but the *Romans* soon drove them back to their walls. At the same time the flames being driven by a violent wind over the battlements, several of the adjoining houses took fire : on which *Brutus* fearing that the whole city would be consumed, ordered his own soldiers to assist the citizens in quenching the flames. But the inhabitants were suddenly seized with an incredible kind of despair ; a frenzy that may properly be called a passionate desire of death ; for persons of all ages, and of both sexes, drove away the soldiers that came to their assistance, and gathering all kinds of combustibles, spread the fire over the whole city. *Brutus* filled with grief and consternation, rode round the walls, and stretching forth his hands to the *Xanthians*, entreated them to spare themselves and the town ; but without paying the least regard to him, some with hideous out-cries leaped into the fire ; others threw themselves from the walls, and others fell upon the swords of their parents ; and though *Brutus* offered a reward to any soldier that could save a *Xanthian*, only 150 were preserved. Thus these unhappy people renewed the calamity suffered by their forefathers, who in the *Perian* war, had in the same manner burned their city, and destroyed themselves*.

After

* This happened in the time of *Cyrus*, when the *Xanthians* being attacked by *Harpagus*, that prince's lieutenant, they rather chose to burn

After this *Brutus* finding that the *Patarenians* resolved to defend their city, was in great perplexity, and unwilling to besiege it, lest they too should be seized with the same frenzy; but having some female captives, he dismissed them without ransom, on which returning to their husbands and parents, who were persons of the greatest quality, they extolled the justice, temperance and moderation of *Brutus*, and prevailed on them to put their city into his hands. After this, all the cities around submitted to him, and found that his humanity and clemency exceeded their most sanguine hopes. For tho' *Cassius*, who had taken the isle of *Rhodes*, had compelled every *Rhodian* to bring him all his gold and silver, by which means he had raised 8000 talents, and had also condemned the public to pay 500 talents more, *Brutus* took from the *Lycians* only 150 talents, and without offering them any other injury, marched with his army into *Ionia*.

Brutus about this time desired *Cassius* to come to him at *Sardis*, and afterwards went with his friends to meet him. But they no sooner entered into discourse, than mutual complaints and accusations passing between them, they withdrew into a private apartment, where, the door being shut, and

burn their wives and children, whom they shut up in the citadel, and to seek death in a general sally, than to submit themselves to a conqueror whom all the east obeyed.

they

they left alone, they began to expostulate, from which they proceeded to dispute, and to accuse each other; till at last being transported with passion, they uttered the bitterest reproaches. Their friends who stood without were astonished at hearing them talk so loud, and with such anger, and though they feared some mischief might follow, did not dare to interrupt them, as they had been ordered not to enter the room. However *Marcus Favonius* attempted to enter, but was hindred by the attendants; he was not however to be easily repulsed, for wherever his impetuosity hurried him on, he was fierce and violent; and though he was a senator, he most valued himself for indulging a sort of cynic liberty of saying whatever he pleased, which was very diverting to those who could bear with his impertinent buffoonery. *Favonius* therefore breaking forcibly through those that kept the door, entered the room, and pronounced in a theatrical tone, the verses *Homer* puts into the mouth of *Neftor*.

Be rul'd; for I am older than you both.

At this *Cassius* laughed; but *Brutus* calling him a *counterfeit cynic*, thrust him out. This however put an end to the dispute, and they both parted. That evening *Cassius* provided a supper, to which *Brutus* and his friends were invited, and the entertainment was seasoned with learned conversation.

The next day *Lucius Pella*, who had been *prætor*, having been accused by the *Sardians* of

they

of embezzling the public money, was disgraced by *Brutus*. This highly offended *Cassius*; for a few days before, two of his friends being charged with the same crime, he only gave them a private admonition, and having publickly absolved them, continued them in their office. He therefore now accused *Brutus* of being too rigorously just at a time which rendered lenity and forbearance necessary. But *Brutus* bid him remember the ides of *March*, when they killed *Cæsar*, who neither plundered nor harassed mankind, but only supported those who did; observing that it would have been better to have suffered the injustice of *Cæsar's* friends, than to allow it in their own: "For then, continued he, "we could have been accused of only cowardice; but now, after all our toils and dangers, we shall incur the reproach of injustice."

Brutus, who was naturally watchful, allowed himself in general but little rest; he never slept in the day time, nor in the night till all his business was finished. But now having begun the war, he only slept a short time after supper, all the rest of the night being spent in the management of his most urgent affairs, and if these were dispatched in time, he employed himself in reading till the third watch, when the tribunes and centurions used to come to him for orders. One night, a little before his leaving *Ajia*, he was sitting alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, when he fancied he heard somebody enter,

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and turning his eyes to the door, saw a hideous spectre standing by his side, on which *Brutus* boldly cried, *What art thou? Man or God? And wherefore dost thou come to me?* *Brutus*, answered the phantom, *I am thy evil genius. Thou shall meet me at Philippi: To which *Brutus* replied, Then I will see thee there.*

The spirit now vanishing, he called his servants, who all declared that they had neither heard nor seen any thing. He therefore continued watching till the morning, and then going to *Cassius*, told him what he had seen. *Cassius* discoursed with him on the power of the imagination, and observe, that his mind was disturbed by his continual labour and care. *Brutus* was satisfied with this explanation, which entirely composed his thoughts.

Brutus and *Cassius* now marched to the plains of *Philippi*, where they encamped near the forces commanded by *Cæsar* and *Antony*. Never did two such numerous armies of *Romans* appear ready to engage each other. That of *Brutus* was somewhat inferior in number to the other, but in the splendor of the arms and equipages far exceeded it. For though in other things *Brutus* had accustomed his officers to frugality, he thought the riches the soldiers carried about them added to the spirit of the ambitious, and would make the covetous fight with greater bravery to preserve their arms, which were their principal wealth.

Cassius, somewhat terrified by superstitious fears, was unwilling to put all to the hazard

of a single battle, advising to protract the war, as they had both more money, and more provisions than the enemy. But *Brutus* was desirous of speedily deciding their fate, that he might either restore the liberty of his country, or free from their troubles all those who were harrassed with the expences, fatigues and dangers of the war; and many of *Cassius*'s friends joining in opinion with *Brutus*, it was resolved to give battle the next day.

Brutus appeared that night very chearful, and having passed the time of supper in a philosophical conversation retired to rest. But according to *Messala*, *Cassius* supped privately with a few of his intimate friends, and contrary to his natural disposition, seemed thoughtful and silent. After supper he squeezed him by the hand, and said in Greek, "Bear witness for me, *Messala*, that
" I, like *Pompey* the Great, am brought into
" the same necessity of hazarding the liberty
" of my country on a single battle. Yet I
" am not discouraged, but rely on our good
" fortune, which we ought not to mistrust,
" though we have taken an imprudent reso-
" lution."

Early the next morning the scarlet robe, which was the signal of battle, was hung out in the camp of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and they themselves met in the centre between the two armies. When *Cassius*, after expressing his wishes for a victory, asked *Brutus* what was his resolution concerning flight and death. *Brutus* answered, "When I, *Cassius*, was young and

“ and unexperienced, I was led, I know not
“ how, into an opinion that made me accuse
“ *Cato* for killing himself, and thought it
“ contrary both to piety and true courage,
“ which forbid our deserting the post in
“ which we are placed by providence, and
“ flying from the calamities of life, instead
“ of bearing them with fortitude. But the
“ situation I am now in, has made me
“ change my opinion; so that if heaven
“ shall not dispose what we are now under-
“ taking according to our wishes, I am re-
“ foived, instead of having recourse to new
“ hopes, to die contented with my fortune.
“ For I devoted my life to the service of my
“ country on the ides of *March*, and, in
“ return, I have ever since enjoyed liberty
“ and honour.” *Cassius*, smiling, embraced
Brutus, saying, “ With these resolutions let
“ us march against the enemy; for we shall
“ either conquer, or have no reason to fear
“ those who do.”

Brutus, who commanded the right wing, sent tickets to all the commanders in which was the word *Battle*, and riding through the ranks, exhorted his soldiers to exert all their bravery; on which they were filled with such ardour, that few had patience to stay for the word; but run with loud shouts on the enemy; when throwing the extremity of the ranks into disorder, and killing a few of the enemy, they passed on, and entered their camp, whence *Octavius*, who was ill, had just been conveyed away. There making a great

slaughter, they cut to pieces 2000 *Lacædemoneans*, who had come to the assistance of *Oædænius*. The rest of the right wing that had not gone round by *Antony*'s left, attacking it in front, easily threw it into confusion, and cut to pieces three legions; then in the ardour of victory, entered the camp with the fugitives, *Brutus* himself being amongst them.

Mean while, *Anthony* seeing that the flank was left open and unguarded by the separation of the right wing, fell with great fury on the troops commanded by *Cæsarius*; but could make no impression on the main body, which received them with great courage and resolution; but soon defeated the left wing, and pursuing them close, entered with them into their camp, which they pillaged and destroyed; though neither of their generals were present: for 'tis said, that *antony*, to avoid the fury of the first charge, had retired into the neighbouring marsh.

As the main body of *Brutus*'s army had defeated all who opposed them, he had not the least suspicion that *Cæsarius* with the left wing was routed, and therefore did not come to his relief.—A mistake, that proved the ruin of their affairs. At length *Brutus* returning from the pursuit, after having destroyed *Cæsar*'s camp, was surprised at his not seeing the tent of *Cæsarius*, rising as usual high above the rest, nor any of the others around it; for most of them were destroyed. *Brutus* now began to suspect *Cæsarius*'s misfortune; and leaving a guard in the enemy's camp, called back

back those engaged in the pursuit, and marched with them to the relief of his colleague.

Cassius was greatly offended that *Brutus*'s soldiers had charged without the word of battle, and that after they had defeated those who opposed them, they had neglected to surround and entirely defeat the enemy ; besides, from his want of attention and activity, he suffered himself to be hemmed in, on which all his cavalry fled towards the sea, and the foot began to give way. He exerted himself to the utmost in order to hinder their flight ; but was at last obliged to fly, with a few about him to a small hill that afforded a prospect of the plain. Being short-sighted, he could only discover the destruction of his camp ; but those who were with him seeing a large body of horse sent by *Brutus*, *Cassius* believed them to be a party sent by the enemy in pursuit of him : he however ordered *Titinius* to go and get more certain intelligence. *Brutus*'s men who saw him coming, no sooner discovered that it was *Cassius*'s faithful friend, than they shouted for joy ; and those who were his acquaintance, alighting from their horses, saluted and embraced him, while the rest rode round him in triumph, clashing their swords. This proved fatal to *Cassius*, who concluding that *Titinius* was taken prisoner, cried, " Through too much fondness for life, " I have lived to see my friend taken by the " enemy before my face." Then retiring into an empty tent, with only *Pindarus*, one of his freedmen, he wrapped his robe about his head ;

head, and laying his neck bare, commanded him to cut off his head ; for it was found lying severed from his body. But as *Pindarus* was not seen after this, it was suspected by some, that he had killed him without orders.

The horsemen were soon after known, and *Titinius* advanced towards *Cassius*, crowned with a garland ; but he no sooner learnt from the cries and lamentations of his afflicted friends, the unfortunate mistake and death of his general, than drawing his sword, and upbraiding himself for his fatal negligence in staying so long, he flew himself.

Brutus, on his hearing of the defeat of *Cassius*, hastened towards him ; but heard nothing of his death till he came near the camp. He there lamented over the body, called *Cassius* the last of the *Romans*, and sent the corpse to be buried at *Thasus*. Then assembling the soldiers, he comforted them, and finding they were in want of necessaries, promised to give two thousand drachmas to every man, as a recompence for what they had lost : at which being astonished at the magnificence of the gift, they shewed their joy by their shouts and acclamations, extolling him as the only general of the four that was not overcome. On his side there fell 8000 men, reckoning the servants of the army. And according to *Mejala* there were slain on the other side above twice that number.

The slaves that had been taken prisoners now appearing very busy among the soldiers, and

and giving cause of suspicion, were ordered to be slain*; but *Brutus* privately dismissed most of the citizens and freemen, in which he was forced to make use of great precaution, as many of his friends were resolved to be revenged on them. He then gave the soldiers the reward he had promised them; and after having gently reproved them, for falling in disorder upon the enemy, without waiting for the word of command, promised that if they behaved well in the next engagement, he would allow them to plunder two cities, *Lacedæmon* and *Thessalonica*. This appears to be the only inexcusable fault in the life of *Brutus*: but he was in a manner obliged to follow the advice of his officers in whatever might tend to bring *Cætius*'s soldiers into better order; for the want of their general, had rendered them bold and insolent in the camp; while the remembrance of their defeat made them cowardly and timorous in the field.

The affairs of *Cæsar* and *Antony* were in no better situation, for they were in want of provisions; besides the camp being in a low situation, encompassed with marshes, and there falling much rain, their tents were filled with mire and water, which immediately froze: they therefore expected to endure a very hard and severe winter. While in this

* This resolution so opposite to the gentleness of *Brutus*'s character, he thought justifiable from necessity, and the example of the enemy, who had the cruelty to kill all their prisoners.

situation they received the news that *Brutus*'s fleet had gained a complete victory at sea over a fleet of theirs, which was bringing a great body of soldiers from *Italy*, and that very few of their ships had escaped, and in those the men on board were reduced to the greatest distress by famine.

Octavius and *Antony* on hearing this news, endeavoured all in their power to come to a battle, before *Brutus* was informed of his good success: for the battle both by sea and land happened on the same day; had it come to his knowledge, he would not have yet ventured a second battle, since he was in no want of provisions, and was advantageously posted, his camp being safe from the injuries of the weather, and almost inaccessible to the enemy. Yet the very evening before the fight, a deserter from the enemy came to inform him, that *Octavius* had received advice of the loss of his fleet; but he met with so little credit, that he was not even admitted into *Brutus*'s presence.

Brutus having ranged his army in order of battle, paused a long time before he gave the word. He perceived that the horse were not disposed to engage with vigour and resolution; and he at length observed a soldier, whom he highly esteemed on account of his bravery, ride by him and go over to the enemy. Vexed at this sight, he partly from anger, and partly from fear of a greater desertion, at about three in the afternoon, led on his troops against the enemy, and violently charging

charging their left wing put them to flight. But *Brutus*'s other wing, on being ordered to advance, considering that they were fewer in number than the enemy who were to oppose them, spread themselves, and thus weakening their ranks, fled at the first onset. *Brutus* was immediately surrounded: but performed every thing possible to be done by an expert general, and a brave soldier. *Marcus*, the son of *Cato*, was slain fighting in the midst of the noblest, and most valiant of the youth, and at last fell on a heap of the dead bodies of the enemy. Many others of the bravest men in the army, who at the same time exposed themselves to save *Brutus*, were likewise slain. Among the rest was *Lucilius*, one of his friends, who seeing some of the Barbarian horse, riding full speed towards *Brutus*, without taking notice of any one else, resolved, at the hazard of his own life, to stop them, and therefore called out that he was *Brutus*. Overjoyed at their prey, they carried him along with them in the night, having first sent some of their own party to carry the news to *Antony*, who was extremely pleased at hearing it, and went out to meet them. The rest, who heard that *Brutus* was taken and brought alive to *Antony*, flocked to see him; some pitying his fortune, and others accusing him of meanness in suffering himself, from a fondness for life, to be taken. *Antony* halted at their approach, to consider in what manner he should receive *Brutus*: but *Lucilius* being brought to him, said with great intrepidity,

“ Be

“ Be assured, O *Antony*, that no enemy either
“ has taken, or ever shall take alive *Marcus*
“ *Brutus*: forbid it, ye gods! that Fortune
“ should so far prevail against virtue! But
“ let him be found alive or dead, it will cer-
“ tainly be in a state worthy of him. As for
“ me, I come hither by a cheat put upon thy
“ soldiers, and upon this occasion am ready
“ to suffer whatever torments thou chusest to
“ inflict.” All who heard him were asto-
“ nished, when *Antony*, turning to those who
“ brought him, said, “ I perceive, my fellow
“ soldiers, you are displeased at being thus
“ imposed upon by *Lucilius*; but you have
“ met with a better booty than that you
“ fought; for you were in search of an ene-
“ my, but have here brought me a friend.
“ Indeed, I am uncertain how I should have
“ used *Brutus*, had you brought him alive;
“ but of this I am sure, that it is better to
“ have such as *Lucilius* our friends than our
“ enemies.” Then having embraced *Lucilius*, he for the present committed him to the
care of one of his friends, and ever after
found him faithful to his interest.

Brutus having passed a small brook shaded
with trees, was overtaken by the night, in a
hollow place at the foot of a rock, with a
few of his officers and friends; where sigh-
ing, he named several of his friends whom he
had seen slain in the battle. In the mean time
one of his companions who was very thirsty,
and saw *Brutus* in the same condition, took
his helmet, and ran to the brook: a noise
being

being then heard from the other side of the brook, *Volumnius* went with *Brutus*'s armour-bearer to see what it was, and soon returning, asked what was become of the water? when *Brutus* calmly smiling, told them it was all drank, but that some more should be immediately fetched. He who had brought the first water, was sent again, but was in great danger of being taken by the enemy, from whom he with difficulty escaped.

As *Brutus* supposed that he had not lost many of his men in the battle, *Statyllius* offered to pass through the enemy, which was the only way, in order to see what was become of the camp, promising that if everything there was safe, he would hold up a lighted torch for a signal, and then return. *Statyllius* arrived safe at the camp, and held up the torch; but on his return, happening to fall into the hands of the enemy, he was slain. *Brutus* therefore expected him in vain. The night was far spent, and as he was fitting, he leaned his head towards his servant *Clitus*, whispering something to him; but he only answered by his tears. He afterwards drew aside his armour-bearer, and discoursed with him in private. At last, addressing himself to *Volumnius* in Greek, he entreated him, by their common studies and pursuit of philosophy, to take hold of his sword and help him to give the thrust. This *Volumnius* refused, as did some others; when one of them saying, that there was no staying there, and that it was necessary they should fly,

Brutus

Brutus rising up, answered, " Yes, indeed, " we must fly, but not with our feet, but " with our hands." Then taking each of them by the hand, he told them with a cheerful countenance, that he felt an infinite satisfaction in reflecting, that none of his friends had been false to him, and that he was only angry with Fortune for the sake of his country: that with respect to himself, he was much more happy than his conquerors, since he was now leaving behind him a reputation for virtue, which neither the arms, nor riches of his conquerors, would ever enable them to acquire; for being wicked, they destroyed the just, to obtain an empire to which they had no right. Afterwards, exhorting all about him to provide for their own safety, he retired with only two or three of his particular friends: one of these was *Strato*, with whom he had contracted an intimate acquaintance, when they both studied rhetoric together. Placing him next to himself, he took hold of the hilt of his sword, and holding the point at his breast with both hands, fell upon it, and expired. Some say, that *Strato*, at the earnest desire of *Brutus*, held the sword, turning aside his head, and that *Brutus* threw himself upon it with such violence, that entering at his breast, it passed through his body *.

* This happened forty-two years before the birth of our Saviour.

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When the body of *Brutus* was found by *Antony*, he ordered his richest robe to be thrown over it, and that being stole, caused the thief to be sought for, and put to death ; after which he sent *Brutus*'s ashes to his mother *Serвilia*. As for *Porcia*, the wife of *Brutus*, *Valerius Maximus* and *Nicolaus* write, that now longing for death, but being hindered by her friends, who kept a continual eye upon her, she snatched burning coals out of the fire, and shutting them in her mouth, stifled herself and expired. But there is yet extant a letter from *Brutus* to his friends, wherein he laments her death, and upbraids them for neglecting her in such a manner, that she wished to die rather than languish under her disease.

In comparing *Dion* and *Brutus*, we find many things worthy of admiration, one of the chief of which is, that from inconsiderable beginnings they rose to such greatness ; but in this *Dion* had evidently the advantage. Besides, the deliverance of the *Syracusans* from *Dionysius*, who harrassed *Sicily* with a thousand oppressions, was more necessary, and a greater act of justice than delivering the *Romans* from *Cæsar*, who while he was establishing his government, was at first indeed injurious to his opposers, but no sooner obtained the supreme power, than his tyranny seemed to be rather nominal than real. Hence the people regretted his loss, and were enraged against his murderers ; while *Dion* was reproached by the *Syracusans* for not suffering

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them to dig up the grave of the former tyrant. The greatest reproach cast on *Brutus* is, that though he owed his own life to the favour of *Cæsar*, who even pardoned all the prisoners for whom he interceded; and tho' he was treated as a friend, and with particular marks of esteem, yet he assassinated him with his own hand. This cannot be objected against *Dion*, who being *Dionysius*'s relation and friend, assisted him in his government; but when driven from his country, wronged in his wife, and stripped of his estate, engaged in a just and honourable war against the ungrateful tyrant, who oppressed both him and his country. But if this affair be considered in another view, it will appear to the honour of *Brutus*: for the glory of both chiefly consists in their hatred of tyrants, and their abhorrence of their crimes. In *Brutus* this was pure and sincere; for without having any private quarrel with *Cæsar*, he exposed himself to danger merely to restore the liberty of his country: but had not *Dion* been personally injured, he would not have made war on *Dionysius*. Besides, the consideration of the public good reconciled *Brutus* to *Pompey*, and from being his enemy made him his friend; and from the same consideration he became *Cæsar*'s enemy; thus he proposed no other rule for his enmity and friendship but justice, and the love of his country.



THE
LIFE
OF
ARTAXERXES.



ARTAXERXES, the first of the Persian kings of that name, was the son of *Xerxes*, and had the surname of *Longimanus*, from his right-hand being longer than his left. This prince, who was distinguished by his magnanimity and goodness, had four grandsons by his daughter *Parisatis*, the eldest, whose life I am now writing, was named *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, from the strength of his memory; the second was *Cyrus*, and the two younger were *Ostanes* and *Oxathres*.

Artaxerxes, who was at first called *Arscas**, was mild and gentle in his behaviour, and

* He is also called *Arfaces*.

with the consent of his parents, married a beautiful and virtuous woman. But king *Darius*, his father, having put her brother to death, was projecting how to destroy her also; when *Articas*, by his tears and entreaties, prevailed on his mother to engage that his wife should neither be put to death, nor divorced from him. *Cyrus*, who was naturally violent and impetuous, was however the queen's favourite son, whom she was desirous of raising to the throne; and *Darius* being dangerously ill, she recalled him from his government in *Lydia*, and urged this specious plea in his behalf, which had been formerly used by *Xerxes*, that *she had brought forth Articas when her husband was a subject, but Cyrus when he was a king*. She could not however prevail with *Darius*, and notwithstanding her solicitations, the eldest son was raised to the throne, on which he assumed the name of *Artaxerxes*, and *Cyrus* was confirmed in the government of *Lydia*, and the maritime provinces.

Soon after *Darius*'s death, the new king, leaving his capital, set out for the city of *Pasargades*, in order to receive consecration from the priests of *Persepolis*. In that city was a temple of the goddess who presided over war. The prince in his consecration, having entered the temple, took off his robe, and put on that worn by the ancient *Cyrus* before he ascended the throne. He then eat a lump of dry figs, chewed some leaves of the turpentine tree, and drank some sour milk. When *Artaxerxes* was preparing for the performance

of

of this ceremony, *Tisaphernes* arrived, with a priest who had been preceptor to *Cyrus* in his infancy; he had taught him the doctrine of the Magi, and was more concerned than any one else, at his pupil's being excluded from the throne. On this account, there was the less reason to doubt his veracity, when he accused *Cyrus* of forming the design of assassinating his brother while he was pulling off his robe in the temple. Some say that he was apprehended on this accusation, and others that he had concealed himself in the temple, where the priest pointed him out. *Cyrus* was immediately condemned to die, when his mother *Parysatis*, distracted with grief, flew to the place, clasped him in her arms, joined her neck to his, and by her shrieks, tears, and prayers, obtained his pardon, and had him remanded back to his government.

Cyrus, insensible of the obligation he had received from her brother's mercy, to which he owed his life; and thinking only of the check he had met with, was filled with a resentment, which, added to his ambition, rendered him more eagerly bent on obtaining the kingdom. By means of his immense wealth he kept a number of foreign troops, which we are informed by *Xenophon*, he maintained in several parts, by means of his friends, and he had emissaries abroad, who under various pretences, enlisted foreign soldiers into his service; while *Parisatis*, who resided with the king her son, removed all

has jealousies. Cyrus wrote in the most submissive manner to *Artaxerxes*, sometimes soliciting for favours, and at others representing all the designs of *Tisaphernes* against him as proceeding from envy.

Artaxerxes in the beginning of his reign seemed to imitate his grandfather in his kindness and affability to all who approached him, and in his liberality in distributing honours and rewards to the deserving. He conferred his favours in the most graceful manner; nor was there any thing offered him, however inconsiderable, which he did not kindly accept. A person presenting him a pomegranate of a very extraordinary size, "By *Mithras*, said he, this man would soon turn a small city into a great one." Being on a journey, some offered him one thing, and some another, when a poor labourer having nothing to present to him, ran to the river side, and taking some water in his hands, gave him that; at which *Artaxerxes* was so pleased, that he sent him a gold cup, and a thousand darics. When the king was one day hunting, *Tiribazus* shewed him a rent in his robe. *Artaxerxes* asked, what he would advise him to do on that occasion; on which he answered, "Put on another, and give me that. It shall be so, replied the king, I give it thee, but at the same time charge thee never to wear it." To this injunction *Tiribazus*, who was an honest, but silly man, paid no regard; but immediately put it on, with such jewels and ornaments as none but the queens of *Per-*

nia

ſia had a right to wear. The whole court were highly provoked, for it was contrary to law; but the king told him, laughing, "Thou hast my leave to wear those golden "toys as a woman, and the robe of state as "a madman." It had always been customary for none to sit and eat with the king besides his mother and wife, the former seated above, and the other below him; but *Artaxerxes* also invited to his table, *Ostanes* and *Oxathres*, his two younger brothers. The chariot of *Statira* his queen presented a most pleasing sight to the *Perſians*; for it was always drawn with the curtains open, and the women of the country were allowed to approach and salute her. Thus he rendered his government pleasing to the people.

Some busy factious men however pretended, that *Cyrus*, having a great spirit, and being an excellent warrior, and a generous master, was more fit to govern so large an empire, which required a daring and ambitious prince. *Cyrus* therefore relying as much on the favourable dispositions of the court, as on the goodwill of the people in the maritime provinces under his command, resolved on the war. He first wrote to the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring them to supply him with some soldiers, assuring them, that he would give horses to the foot, and chariots to the cavalry; that on those who had farms he would bestow villages, and that the lords of villages should be governors of cities; adding, that the pay of the soldiers should not be counted, but measured

measured out to them. At the same time he boasted, that he had a greater soul, was a better philosopher, was more versed in the doctrines of the Magi, and could drink deeper than *Artaxerxes*, his brother, who was timidous and effeminate, and could neither sit so steadily on his horse, when hunting, nor in his chariot, when in action.

Upon reading these letters the *Lacedæmonians* sent orders to *Clearchus* to obey the orders of *Cyrus*, who marched against the king at the head of a numerous army, and little less than 13,000 *Grecian* auxiliaries, sometimes assigning one cause for his expedition, and sometimes another. His ambitious views were not, however, long concealed; for *Tisaphernes* going to the king, discovered them to him. The whole court was instantly in a tumult. *Parysatis* bearing the chief blame, all her friends were suspected, and queen *Statyra* in the deepest affliction cried out to her, “Where are now thy promises? Where are “thy intercessions? by saving him who at-“tempted the life of his brother, thou hast “kindled this war, and plunged us in such “calamities.” These expressions filled *Parysatis* with an implacable resentment, which she at last found means to gratify.

While *Cyrus* was on his march, he received news from all parts, that the king was determined to wait in the heart of *Perse*, till he had assembled his forces from all parts. And notwithstanding his having cut a trench ten fathoms wide, as many deep, and four

hundred

hundred furlongs in length, he suffered *Cyrus* to pass it, and to proceed on his march towards *Babylon*. *Tiribazus* is said to have been the first who ventured to let him know, that he ought not, by declining a battle, to abandon *Media*, *Babylon* and *Susa*, since his army was far more numerous than that of his enemy. This made the king resolve to come to an engagement; and he suddenly appeared at the head of an army of 900,000 well disciplined men. The rebels were extremely surprised; for they marched in great confusion, and even without their arms; it was therefore with the utmost difficulty that *Cyrus* drew them up in order of battle, but this was however at last done, though in a noisy and tumultuous manner.

In the mean time the king led on his men leisurely, and in great silence; which greatly surprized the *Greeks*, who expected to find in so great a multitude nothing but confusion, and to have seen them rushing forward with hideous outcries. *Artaxerxes* prudently covered the phalanx, which was opposite to the *Grecians*, with the strongest of his armed chariots, that with these he might make great havoc in their ranks, before they came to close combat.

Tho' many historians have given a description of this action, none have done it with such force as *Xenophon*, who describes it in so clear a manner, that the reader is almost as sensibly affected, as if he himself was engaged, and shar'd in the danger; I shall therefore

fore only mention some remarkable circumstances which he has omitted.

The place where the battle was fought was called *Cunaxa*, and was about 500 stadia* from *Babylon*. A little before the battle, *Clearchus* advised *Cyrus* not to expose his person, but to retire behind the *Grecian* battalions. Upon which *Cyrus* is said to have replied, “What doest thou say? At the very time when I am endeavouring to make myself king, wouldst thou have me shew myself unworthy of the crown?” He however committed a great error, in rushing without any precaution into the midst of danger; but *Clearchus* seems to have been guilty of a still greater, when instead of drawing up the *Grecians* against the main body of the enemy, where was the king in person, he, for fear of being surrounded, joined his right wing to the river. For had *Artaxerxes* himself been to chuse a place for the *Grecians*, where it would be least in their power to hurt him, he could not have chosen one more proper than that which was at such a distance from the part of the army where he fought, that he was ignorant of the defeat of his own troops near the river, and *Cyrus* fell before he could receive any benefit from the success of *Clearchus*. The *Grecians* soon defeated the barbarians with whom they engaged, and pursued them a great way. *Ctesias* observes, that *Cyrus*, who was mounted on an unruly

* Twenty-five leagues.

horse, was met by *Artagerses* general of the *Cadusians*, who seeing him at a distance, galloped up to him, calling aloud, “ Thou “ wicked and senseless wretch ! Thou re- “ proach to the name of *Cyrus*, the most au- “ gust, the most honourable of all names “ among the *Perians* ! these vile *Grecians* “ hast thou engaged in a fatal expedition, “ promising them the plunder of thy country, “ hoping to destroy thy sovereign and thy “ brother : but thou shalt perish even before “ thou hast beheld the face of thy king.” He then threw his javelin with all his force, but without penetrating *Cyrus*’s armour, it only made him reel on his horse : but *Cyrus* recovering himself, aimed his javelin at *Ar- tagerses*, as he was turning, and piercing his neck, slew him.

Dion observes, that upon the death of *Artagerses*, *Cyrus* opened his way with great fury through *Artaxerxes*’s van guard, and wounded that prince’s horse : but *Tiribazus* immediately mounted him on another, saying, “ Remember, Sir, this day, which ought “ never to be forgotten.” *Cyrus* attacking the king a second time, again dismounted him : but at the third charge, the king, filled with indignation, cried, “ I had better die “ than suffer this,” and making up to *Cyrus*, who blindly threw himself into a shower of darts aimed at him from all sides, wounded him with his javelin. Thus fell *Cyrus*, who as some say was slain by the king ; or, as others assert, by a *Carian* soldier, whom

Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes rewarded, by granting him the privilege of bearing on the point of his spear at the head of the army a cock of gold. The *Perians* giving the *Carians* the name of cocks, from the crests with which their helmets were adorned.

The account given by *Ctesias* of the death of *Cyrus*, is very different from this. He says, that *Cyrus* having slain *Artageresa*, rode up to the king, who advanced to meet him. *Ariæus*, one of *Cyrus*'s friends, first attacked *Artaxerxes* without wounding him. The king then threw his javelin at *Cyrus*, but missing him, killed one of *Cyrus*'s most brave and faithful servants. *Cyrus* upon this, throwing his javelin at his brother, it pierced his cuirass, and entering two fingers deep into his breast, made him fall from his horse. His troops now terrified, instantly fled, and the king recovering from his fall retired with a few of his followers, among whom was *Ctesias*, to a small eminence at a little distance. The high mettle of *Cyrus*'s horse carried him a great way into the midst of the enemy: when the approach of night rendering it difficult for them to know him, or his followers to find him, he passed on crying, "Make way, you slaves." As he frequently repeated these words, most of them got out of his way: but his tiara falling off, *Mithridates*, a *Perian*, who was running by, wounded him with his javelin in the temple, without knowing him. His wound bleeding very fast, he soon fainted, and fell to the ground, when his

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his horse having lost his rider, ran up and down the field; but a person belonging to Mithridates found the furniture lying on the ground, and stained with blood.

Cyrus at length recovering his sences, a few eunuchs, who attended him, finding him unable to mount another horse, took him by each arm, and supported him as he walked, while he staggered at every step. In the mean while, some Caunians, who followed the royal army, happening to mix with those who attended Cyrus, took them for their friends: but at last perceiving the red cloathing worn by his soldiers *, found they were among their enemies; and one of them striking Cyrus in the ham with his spear, cut the sinew, on which he instantly fell, and dashing his wounded head against a stone, immediately expired.

Cyrus had just breathed his last, when *Artasyras*, who was denominated The Eye of the King †, riding up to the eunuchs, whom he found lamenting his death, asked them for whom they were weeping, and was told that it was for the death of Cyrus. *Artasyras*, greatly surprized, bid them take care of the

* The king's troops were dressed in white.

† The kings of *Perſia* had a set of officers called The King's Eye, who were to give him an account of whatever they saw in his dominions. He had also others called The Ears of the King, who informed him of whatever they heard.

corpse, and instantly rode full speed to *Artaxerxes*. That prince had begun to think his affairs in a desperate situation, and was ready to faint with thirst, and the anguish of his wound, when *Artayras* coming up, told him with an air of triumph, that *Cyrus* was dead. The king struck at this news, ordered *Artayras* to conduct him to the body : but observing that his troops were filled with consternation, from the report that the *Grecians* having prevailed, were pursuing those who fled, and put all to the sword, he sent thirty men with torches to enquire into the truth of what *Artayras* had told him.

In the mean while one of the king's eunuchs ran in search of water to allay his thirst ; and after having long sought for it in vain, they being at a great distance from their camp, at last met with a *Caunian*, who had in a dirty leatheren bottle about two quarts of foul stinking water, and this he carried to the king, who drank it all up. The eunuch then asking him, if he did not find it very nauseous, *Artaxerxes* swore by the gods, that no wine, nor the purest water, was ever so pleasant ; " and if, said he, I should not be able to find and reward the man who gave it thee, may the gods render him rich and prosperous." At the same instant, his thirty messengers arrived with joy and triumph in their looks, bringing him the news of his unexpected good fortune ; and being now encouraged by the multitude of his soldiers who flocked to him, he descended

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*ARTAXERES receives the Head and Hand
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into the plain by the light of an infinite number of torches. On his arriving at the place where the corpse of his brother lay, the right hand and head were cut off, according to a law of the *Perians*, when ordering the head to be brought him, he held it by the hair, which was long and bushy, and shewing it to his men, who were still wavering, they prostrated themselves before him, and there were soon assembled about him 70,000 men, who attended him to the camp.

Artaxerxes afterwards sent many magnificent presents to the son of *Artagernes*. He likewise conferred high honours upon *Ctesias* and others; and having found out the poor *Caunian* who had given him the bottle of water, he made him a man of wealth and dignity. In the punishments he inflicted on the guilty, there was a kind of harmony between them and their crimes. One *Arbaces*, a *Mede*, who during the fight, had deserted to *Cyrus*, and after his death returned to his post, he ordered to carry a whore stark naked on his shoulders for a whole day, about the market-place; thus condemning him for effeminacy and cowardice, rather than for malignity and treason. Another having not only deserted, but falsely pretended that he had slain two of the enemy, the king ordered his tongue to be bored through with three awls.

As *Artaxerxes* imagined that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own hand, and was willing that every body else should think so too, he

sent rich presents to *Mithridates*, who first wounded him, commanding those who carried them to say, “ The king has honoured thee with these presents, because when thou hadst found the trappings of the horse of *Cyrus*, thou broughtest them to him.” Likewise, when the *Carian*, who wounded *Cyrus* in the ham, sued for his reward, it was granted, and the king ordered those who gave it him, to say, “ The king makes thee a present of this; for being the second messenger of the good news; for *Artahras* was the first who informed him of the death of *Cyrus*, and thou the second.” But the wretched *Carian*, from an indiscretion common to weak minds, was so transported by the rich presents he received, that he instantly formed more aspiring hopes, and loudly exclaimed, that he alone had killed *Cyrus*, and that it was unjust to deprive him of the honour. At this the king was so highly exasperated, that he gave orders for his being beheaded; but *Parysatis* happening to be present, desired that his punishment might be left to her; to which the king consenting, she had the cruelty to order the executioners to stretch him upon the rack for ten days, then to pluck out his eyes, and drop melted brass into his ears till he expired.

Soon after *Mithridates* perished miserably through his own folly. Being invited to a feast, at which were present the eunuchs of the king and queen mother, he came dressed

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in the robe, and other ornaments presented him by *Artaxerxes*. When they were grown warm with wine, *Parysatis*'s chief eunuch cried, "O *Mithridates*! how beautiful is this robe! How fine these chains and bracelets! How magnificent that scymitar! What a happy man has the king made thee! Thou art admired and envied by all that see thee." *Mithridates*, who was already drunk, answered, "In that day, *Sparamixes*, I performed an action that deserved more valuable and magnificent rewards." What, was it so noble an exploit, said *Sparamixes* smiling, to find the trappings of *Cyrus*'s horse, and to carry them to the king?" This irritated the vanity of *Mithridates*, who, no longer master of himself, cried, "Thou mayst talk as thou pleasest of horse trappings, but I tell thee, by this hand *Cyrus* fell; I struck my javelin with such force into his temple, that it penetrated into his brains, and brought him to the ground; and of that wound he died." All who were present, foresaw the unhappy fate of *Mithridates*, and cast their eyes on the ground.

The eunuch told *Parysatis* all that had passed, and she informed the king, who was enraged at being deprived, of the most glorious and pleasing circumstance of his victory; for he was ambitious of having both the *Greeks* and his own subjects believe that he had been slightly wounded by *Cyrus*; and that he, in return, had given him a mortal wound: he

therefore ordered that *Mitbridores* should die by the punishment of the *troughs*, which is executed in the following manner: they take two troughs that exactly fit each other, and placing the criminal on his back in one of them, cover it with the other in such a manner, that only the head, hands, and feet are seen. In this condition food is offered him, and if he refuses to eat, he is forced to it by the dreadful anguish of having needles run into his eyes; they then drench him with milk and honey; which they likewise pour upon his face, and then turn it to the sun, that he may have it always in his eyes: by this means his face is covered with flies, and as he is obliged to void his excrements under him, he lies in filth filled with the vermin that soon breed in it. Under this dreadful punishment *Mitbridores* languished seventeen days before he expired.

There only remained one person more to be punished in order fully to sate the revenge of *Parysatis*, this was *Mesabates*, one of the king's eunuchs, who, by his master's order, had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus*. But there being nothing to take hold of in his conduct, *Parysatis* laid this snare for him. She was a woman of great address, had much wit, and excelled in playing at dice. After the war she played often with the king; joined in all his parties of pleasure, was admitted into the secret of his amours, and was even serviceable to him with his mistresses; but she took particular care seldom to lose sight

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of him, and to leave *Statira*, whom she mortally hated, as little alone with him as possible. One day, therefore, finding the king entirely at leisure, she proposed playing with him at dice for a thousand darics *, to which he readily consented. She suffered him to win, and paid down the money; but pretending to be vexed, she pressed him to begin again, and to play with her for an eunuch. The king, who suspected nothing, complied, and they agreed to except five of the favourite eunuchs on each side, and that out of the rest, the loser should yield up any the winner should chuse. On these conditions they sat down to play. The queen was all attention to the game, and made use of her utmost skill and address, besides, the dice favoured her; she won, and chose *Mesabates*, who was not in the number of the five that had been excepted. Having got him in her power, before the king had the least suspicion of her intended revenge, she delivered him to the executioners, and commanded them to flea him alive, which was accordingly performed. When the king was informed of this instance of her cruelty, he was highly incensed; but turning it off with a jest, the cruel monster said with a smile, "This is pleasant indeed, " to be so out of humour about a sorry old "eunuch, when I, who lost a thousand "good darics, paid them without a word." *Artaxerxes*, though extremely concerned, took

* The daric was worth about 8s. sterl.ing.

no farther notice of it; but *Statira* openly resented her injustice and inhumanity, in destroying the king's most faithful servants for the sake of *Cyrus*.

Paryatis had long entertained a violent hatred to queen *Statira*: she plainly perceived that her own credit with the king only proceeded from his respect to her as his mother, while *Statira's* was founded in his love and confidence, the best security of credit with him. For the more easy accomplishment of her designs, she feigned a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law. The two queens seeming therefore to have forgot their former differences, visited, and eat at each others apartments; but as their mutual distrust was not entirely banished, they kept upon their guard, and never eat but of the same dishes. Who could think it possible to deceive such attentive and cautious vigilance? *Ctesias* affirms, that *Paryatis* one day when her daughter-in-law was at table with her, took a bird that was a great dainty, and cutting it in two with her knife, rubbed with poison on the one side, and free from it on the other, gave *Statira* that which was poisoned, and eat the other part herself. *Statira* was soon after seized with sharp pains, and died in the most horrible convulsions: she herself was sensible of the cause, and told the king her suspicions. He well knew his mother's implacable disposition, and therefore made the strictest enquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domestics who attended at

her table, he caused to be seized and put to the torture: but *Parysatis* kept *Gygis*, one of her women, and her principal confident, safe in her own apartment; and though the king often sent to demand her, she refused to deliver her up. At length *Gygis* desiring the queen to let her go home by night, she was intercepted by the guards, and being sentenced to die, suffered the punishment inflicted by the *Perfians* on poisoners. Her head was laid upon a large broad stone, and they beat upon it with another till it was entirely crushed, and lost its form. As for *Parysatis*, the king was satisfied with confining her, at her own request, to the city of *Babylon*, but declared that he would never visit it while she was there.

The king was extremely solicitous to get into his power all the *Grecians* who accompanied *Cyrus* in this expedition; but in this he failed: for after they had lost *Cyrus* their general and their commanders*, they forced their way, and retired in safety.

Upon this all the *Greeks* began to despise the *Perfians*; the *Lacedæmonians* thought it would be a shame not to deliver the *Asiatic Grecians* from servitude, and the insolence of their oppressors. Having made several unsuccessful attempts, they at last committed the whole conduct of the war to *Agestalus*, who

* This was the retreat of the 10,000 *Grecians* described by *Xenophon*, and so celebrated in history,

having

having passed with a powerful fleet into *Asia*, performed many signal exploits, in particular, he defeated *Tisaphernes*, the lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*, in a pitched battle, and caused several of the cities to throw off the *Persian* yoke.*

The great exploits by which *Ageſilaus* acquired a distinguished reputation, taught *Artaxerxes* in what manner he ought to carry on the war against the *Grecians*. He sent *Hermoniates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece* with a vast quantity of gold, in order to corrupt the leading men in the several cities, and to unite the rest of the *Grecians* against *Sparta*. *Hermoniates* succeeded, and all *Peloponnesus* being in confusion, the council of *Sparta* were obliged to recal *Ageſilaus*. *Artaxerxes* likewise, by the assistance of *Conon* the *Athenian* admiral, deprived the *Lacedæmonians* of the dominion of the sea. For after *Conon* had been beaten by the *Spartans* at *Ægæos Potamos*, he retired to the isle of *Cyprus*, from whence he wrote to the king, and sent him a plan of his designs, which were delivered to *Ctesias*, who having communicated them to the king, was sent to *Conon* to assist him, on account of his great skill in maritime affairs.

Conon and *Pharnabazus* having defeated the *Lacedæmonians* in the naval engagement near *Cnidos*, and stripped them of their dominion at sea, *Artaxerxes* drew over all *Greece* to his interest, and obliged them to agree to his

* See the life of *Ageſilaus*, in vol. V.

own terms, in the celebrated peace of *Antalcidas*. This *Antalcidas*, though a *Spartan*, was so zealous for the interest of the king of *Perſia*, that he prevailed on the *Lacedæmonians* to give up all the cities in *Asia*, and the neighbouring islands, which in virtue of this peace, were to remain tributary to the *Perſians*.

While *Sparta* held the first rank in *Greece*, *Antalcidas* was caressed by *Artaxerxes*, who professed the warmest affection for him. But on their being humbled at the battle of *Leuctra*, finding themselves distressed for want of money, they ordered *Antalcidas* to return to the court of *Perſia* to ask supplies from *Artaxerxes*: but he was received with such coldness, and treated by that prince with such contempt, that he returned in great confusion to *Sparta*; where suffering the contempt of his enemies, and being in dread of the *ephori*, he starved himself to death.

The *Grecians* were extremely pleased with *Artaxerxes* for putting to death *Tisaphernes*, the most implacable of their enemies. In this *Paryatis* was instrumental, by adding many articles to the charge brought against him. The resentment felt by *Artaxerxes* against his mother had soon subsided: for being assured that she had wisdom and courage sufficient for the government of an empire, he sent for her, and became perfectly reconciled to her. From that time, she gratified him in every thing, and gained an absolute ascendant over him, by never opposing or censuring any of his actions. Perceiving that

that he was deeply in love with *Atoſſa*, one of his own daughters, and that from his regard to her, he concealed and checked his passion, she seemed more fond of her grand-daughter than before, and praised her virtue and beauty to *Artaxerxes*, which, she said, rendered her worthy of the imperial dignity: she even persuaded him to marry her, impiously saying, “Thou art a law to the *Perſians*, and art “ appointed by God to be their only rule of “ what his virtuous and vicious.” His love for *Atoſſa* was so ardent, that though a leprosy spread all over her body, it gave him not the least distaste. He prostrated himself on the earth, and prayed for her recovery, and the road from the palace to the temple was filled with his officers and friends, carrying thither on horses, offerings of gold, silver and purple.

He entered into a war with the *Egyptians*, which, through a misunderstanding between the generals *Pharnabazus* and **Iphicrates*, proved unsuccessful. Against the *Cadusians* he marched in person with an army of 300,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. Their country is rough and uneven, continually covered with fogs, and produces no corn for the support of the inhabitants, a robust warlike people, that are forced to live on wild fruits. *Artaxerxes* on entering their country exposed himself to the utmost distress and danger;

* *Iphicrates* was an *Athenian* who commanded the *Grecian* troops.

for no provisions could be had there, nor was it possible to be supplied from any other country. Hence the whole army being forced to live on their beasts of burthen, they soon became so scarce, that the head of an ass was sold for sixty drachmas; most of the horses had been used for food, and want began to be felt, even at the king's table. In this distress *Tiribazus*, who was frequently in the highest favour with *Artaxerxes* on account of his valour, and as often brought into disgrace by his levity, preserved both the king and his whole army. There were two kings of the *Cadusians* who were separately encamped. *Tiribazus* having communicated his design to *Artaxerxes*, went himself to one of these princes, and sent his son to the other, each telling the prince to whom he went, that the other was sending ambassadors to *Artaxerxes* to negotiate a separate alliance; "And if thou art wise, said he, thou wilt be before-hand with him, by entering first into the treaty; in which I will give thee all the assistance in my power." This imposed upon the two princes, who each believing that the other was betraying him, they both sent their ambassadors to *Artaxerxes*, *Tiribazus* attending those sent by the one, and his son accompanying those of the other; and by this mean a peace was concluded.

Artaxerxes in his march back, made it appear that effeminacy and cowardice do not necessarily arise, as is generally imagined, from pomp and splendor, but only from

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for no provisions could be had there, nor was it possible to be supplied from any other country. Hence the whole army being forced to live on their beasts of burthen, they soon became so scarce, that the head of an ass was sold for sixty drachmas; most of the horses had been used for food, and want began to be felt, even at the king's table. In this distress *Tiribazus*, who was frequently in the highest favour with *Artaxerxes* on account of his valour, and as often brought into disgrace by his levity, preserved both the king and his whole army. There were two kings of the *Cadusians* who were separately encamped. *Tiribazus* having communicated his design to *Artaxerxes*, went himself to one of these princes, and sent his son to the other, each telling the prince to whom he went, that the other was sending ambassadors to *Artaxerxes* to negotiate a separate alliance; "And if thou art wise, said he, thou wilt be before-hand with him, by entering first into the treaty; in which I will give thee all the assistance in my power." This imposed upon the two princes, who each believing that the other was betraying him, they both sent their ambassadors to *Artaxerxes*, *Tiribazus* attending those sent by the one, and his son accompanying those of the other; and by this mean a peace was concluded.

Artaxerxes in his march back, made it appear that effeminacy and cowardice do not necessarily arise, as is generally imagined, from pomp and splendor, but only from

weakness of mind and a depraved judgment : since neither his ornaments of gold, his robe of state, or his other rich apparel, which he always wore, and were esteemed worth twelve thousand talents, hindered that prince from exposing himself to the same fatigues and hardships as the meanest of his soldiers : for with his quiver at his back, and his arm braced to his buckler, he frequently dismounted, and led them through the most craggy and difficult passes. His troops, charmed at his patience, strength and courage, and fired by his example, marched every day upwards of two hundred furlongs. At length he arrived at one of his palaces, where he had gardens that were extremely beautiful and of vast extent ; when the weather being extremely cold, he gave his soldiers leave to cut down as much wood as they wanted, without excepting the tallest pines and cypresses, and when they seemed unwilling to cut down trees of such beauty, the king taking an ax began to fell one of the largest. This rendered the soldiers less scrupulous ; they soon cut down a sufficient supply of wood, and by kindling a vast number of fires, prevented their suffering by the inclemency of the weather.

In this expedition *Artaxerxes* losing many of his soldiers, and almost all his horses, imagined that he was despised for his ill success, and growing jealous of his courtiers, put some of them to death through anger, and others from fear ; a passion in a despotic

prince

prince most cruel and bloody: while true courage is gentle, merciful and void of suspicion. His sons were now contending which should succeed him, and employed in engaging their friends and the chief men of the court in their respective interests. The most prudent of these thought, that as *Artaxerxes* had in right of birth succeeded to the throne, the succession ought to devolve on *Darius* his eldest son. But *Ochus*, the younger, who was of a hot and violent temper, had also a very numerous party, and flattered himself with the hopes of engaging his father to declare in his favour. For this purpose he paid his court to *Atoffa*, whom he promised to marry, and to share the throne with her after the death of his father. But to cut off all his hopes, *Artaxerxes* declared *Darius* his successor, who was then in his twenty-fifth year, and allowed him to assume the mark of royalty, in wearing the point of his turbant erect.

As it is a custom in *Perisia*, for the nearest to the crown to demand of the prince who has nominated him for his successor, some gift, which he is not to refuse, *Darius* asked for *Aspacia*, a *Grecian* captive who had been extremely beloved by *Cyrus*, and was then one of the king's concubines. *Darius* consented, on condition she was willing to live with *Darius*; but insisted that she should not be forced away against her inclination. However on *Aspacia*'s being brought in, she, contrary to the king's expectation, made choice of his son, on which he delivered her up to

him ; but soon after deprived him of her, by making her a priestess in the temple of *Anitis*, at *Ecbatana*, that she might pass the remainder of her days in the strictest chastity. He thus punished *Darius*, not with rigour and severity, but with mildness and good humour.

Darius, however, highly resented this proceeding ; which being perceived by *Tiribazus*, who had been exasperated at the king for having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, and afterwards marrying them himself, he endeavoured to fill him with distrust of his father, whom he represented as fickle and inconstant, and to render him jealous of the power and influence of his brother *Ochus*. *Sophocles* justly says, “ With winged speed “ ill counsel takes its way.” The path that leads to the object of our wishes is smooth and of an easy descent ; for men desire what is wrong, only because they are strangers to wisdom and virtue. *Darius* therefore delivered himself up to *Tiribazus*, by whose means he formed a conspiracy against his father. An eunuch however informed the king of the whole plot, and that they intended to break into his apartments by night, and to assassinate him as he lay in bed. *Artaxerxes* neither despised the danger, nor gave entire credit to the information. He ordered the eunuch to join with the conspirators, and engage in all their measures. Mean while he caused

caused a door to be made in the wall behind his bed, and had it covered with tapestry.

When the hour appointed for the assassination approached, he laid himself on his bed, where he staid till he had a view of the assassins sufficient to know them: but seeing them draw their swords, and advance forward towards the bed, he drew back the tapestry, and retreated to an inner chamber, where he bolted the door, and alarmed the court. The assassins finding they were discovered, and their design defeated, all separated, and fled; but *Tiribazus* being surprized by the guards, defended himself with great courage, slaying several of them, till being at last wounded with a javelin thrown at him, he fell. *Darius* was also taken with his children, and brought before the judges appointed by his father, who did not chuse to be present at the trial; but ordered his notaries to write separately the opinion of each of the judges, and bring them to him. They having all agreed in condemning him to suffer death, the officers removed him to an adjacent prison, and sent for the executioner, who entering with the razor used in beheading capital offenders, and seeing the prince, started back in great consternation, looking towards the door. The judges, however, who attended without, ordered him with threats to proceed, upon which he again turned to *Darius*, and seizing him by the hair, threw him on the ground, and cut off his head.

Some authors say, that *Darius* was tried in the king's presence, when being convicted by undeniable evidence, he fell prostrate on the ground, earnestly imploring his pardon; but the king in great fury drew his scymitar, and after giving him several wounds, killed him on the spot: after which he returned to his palace, where he worshipped the sun, saying to those who attended him, "Return " in triumph, O *Perſians*, and declare to " your fellow subjects, that the great *Oro- mazes* has punished the contrivers of the " most impious and execrable crimes."

The expectations of *Ochus* were now raised; he was however jealous of his elder brother *Ariaspes*, the only legitimate son, besides himself; and of his father's natural sons he was afraid of *Arsames**; for the *Perſians* were desirous that *Ariaspes* should succeed to the throne, on account of his being of a sincere, mild, and benevolent disposition: but *Arsames* was thought to be possessed of a superior understanding, and *Ochus* was convinced that he was his father's favourite. He therefore being equally artful and cruel, contrived the destruction of both. He prevailed on some of the king's eunuchs to inform *Ariaspes* from time to time of some severe and menacing expressions, which they pretended *Artax- erxes* had uttered against him; thus filling

* *Artaxerxes* had a hundred and fifty sons by his concubines, who amounted to three hundred and sixty.

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him with perpetual terrors, and the dread of an ignominious death, he poisoned himself to escape the effects of the fictitious anger of his father. The king sincerely lamented him; but was disabled by his age from examining thoroughly into this black affair. His fondness for *Arsames* now encreased, and placing the utmost confidence in him, he communicated to him all his designs. This induced the vile *Ochus* to hasten the execution of his purpose, and he caused him to be assassinated. *Artaxerxes* brought by extreme old age to the very verge of life, was unable to support his grief for the loss of *Arsames*, and sinking under his affliction, expired in the ninety-fifth year of his age, and the sixty-third of his reign. He was esteemed a mild and gracious prince; but the excessive cruelty of his son *Ochus*, the most bloody of all princes, contributed not a little to his obtaining that character *.

* This happened in the 361st year before the birth of our Saviour.





THE
L I F E
O F
A R A T U S.

ROM the time that *Sicyon** lost its pure aristocratical government, it changed one tyrant for another, till *Cleon* being slain, *Timoclidias* and *Clinias*, who enjoyed the greatest power and reputation among the citizens, being elected governors, the constitution seemed in a manner settled: but *Timoclidias* dying, *Abantidas* resolving to seize the go-

* *Sicyon* was anciently a city of the *Peloponnesus*, but is now in ruins, on the place where it stood is built *Vasilica*, a town subject to the *Turks*.

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vernment, assassinated *Clinias* with several of his relations and friends, and banished the rest. The tyrant would also have murdered *Aratus* the son of *Clinias*, though he was then but seven years of age; but he was not to be found; for during the confusion occasioned in the family by the death of his father, he escaped unobserved, and wandering about the city, in the greatest consternation and distress, at length entered unseen the house of *Soso*, the sister of the tyrant, who had married *Prophantus*, his father's brother. She was naturally generous, and believing that by the secret direction of the gods he had fled to her for shelter, concealed him till it was dark, and then had him secretly conveyed to *Argos*.

Aratus on escaping so imminent a danger, conceived an implacable hatred to tyrants, which encreased with his years. At *Argos*, he received a liberal education from his father's friends. Where obtaining a robust constitution, and growing very tall, he applied himself to the gymnastic exercises, in which he soon excelled; and indeed in his statuary one may observe an athletic cast, with a majestic gravity in the countenance.

At length *Dinias* and *Aristotle* the logician slew *Abantidas*, who used to attend and join in their disputes in the public hall: and *Pasias* his father seizing the government, was soon after slain by *Nicocles*, who also usurped the supreme authority.

Nicocles

Nicocles had governed in a very oppressive manner about four months, when he was very near being dispossessed by a stratagem of the *Aetolians*. By this time *Aratus* was growing towards manhood, and was already much esteemed both on account of his birth, the gravity of his disposition, the greatness of his spirit, and the solidity of his judgment, qualities, that made the exiles of *Sicyon* fix their eyes on him. Already had *Nicocles* his spies, who observed all his motions: for he suspected that he carried on a correspondence with the kings who had been his father's friends. Indeed this *Aratus* attempted; but finding that *Antigonus**, who had promised to assist him, put him off with delays, he resolved to destroy the tyrant without any foreign assistance.

He first mentioned his design to *Aristomachus* an exile of *Sicyon*, and *Ecclitus*, an *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who applied himself to philosophy, but was active and resolute. These readily consenting, he made the proposal to the other exiles, some of whom engaged in the design; but most of them endeavoured to divert him from it, by letting him know, that they thought his want of experience rendered him rash and precipitate.

Aratus was deliberating on the best means of securing some post in the territory of *Sicyon*, whence he might make war on the tyrant, when a *Sicyonian*, just escaped from prison,

* *Antigonus* was king of *Macedonia*.

arrived at *Argos*. He was the brother of *Xenocles*, one of the exiles, who bringing him to *Aratus*, he told him, that the part of the wall over which he had escaped, was on the inside almost level with the ground, it adjoining to a high rocky part of the city; and that on the outside the wall might be easily scaled. *Aratus* immediately dispatched *Xenocles*, with two of his servants to view the wall, resolving to hazard all at a push, rather than to oppose the tyrant in a long war. Having taken the height of the wall, they returned with the news that it might be easily scaled, but that the greatest difficulty lay in approaching it without being discovered by several dogs belonging to a gardener who lived just by, which, though small, were very fierce and not to be silenced.

Upon receiving this intelligence, he resolved on the enterprize. He and his companions provided arms and ladders: he raised his men among his friends at *Argos*, who supplied him with ten a-piece; to these he added thirty of his own domestics, and also hired a small party of *Xenophilus*, captain of a band of plunderers. Many of them were sent before by different ways to the tower of *Polygnotus*, where they were to wait for his arrival. *Caphefias* with four of his companions were also sent before, who were to arrive as travellers at the gardener's house when it was dark, and having got a lodging, were to confine both him and his dogs. As for the ladders, they being made to take in pieces, were

packed

packed up in corn-chests, and sent before in waggons.

In the mean while some of the tyrant's spies arrived at *Argos*, *Aratus* appeared early the next morning in the market place, where he was seen conversing with his friends; from thence he went to the *Gymnasium*, where he performed his exercises and anointed himself; and returned home with some young persons of rank, who used to join in his parties of pleasure. Soon after his servants appeared in the market place, some carrying garlands, others buying flambeaux, and others talking with the women who sung and played at entertainments. By these appearances the spies were deceived, and laughing, said to each other, " How timorous is a tyrant! Even *Nicæles*, the master of so large a city, is afraid of a youth who wastes his small fortune in drinking and revelling."

But *Aratus* had no sooner dined, than leaving *Argos*, he hastened to his soldiers, who waited for him at the tower of *Polygnotus*. Having joined them, he led them to *Nemea*, where animating them with many exhortations and promises, and having given them the word, which was *propitius Apollo*, proceeded towards *Sicyon*, ordering his march in such a manner, as to have the benefit of the moon on the way, and to arrive at the gardener's house, which was close to the wall, just as she was set.

Here *Caphefias* coming up to him, let him know, that he could not secure the dogs, they having been let out before his arrival;

but

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but that he had secured the gardener. This discouraging most of them, they pressed him to lay aside his enterprize, and return. But persuading them to proceed, he caused those who carried the ladders to march before, under the command of *Ecdelus* and *Mnafitheus*, while he followed leisurely with the rest. The dogs barking very loud, flew at *Ecdelus* and his followers, however they got safe to the wall, and planted their ladders. But when the foremost of them were mounting, the captain of the watch passed by, at the sound of a bell, with many torches, and much noise; however lying close to the ladders, they were not observed: but when the morning guard came immediately after to relieve the former, they were in the utmost danger. But having escaped that also, *Mnafitheus* and *Ecdelus* mounted the wall, and taking possession of the passages on each side, sent to hasten *Aratus*. The garden which run near the wall, was not far distant from a tower, in which a large greyhound was placed to keep watch; and the exiles marching near that tower, he barked so loud, that the place resounded with the noise, on which a sentinel at a distance called out to know if any thing extraordinary had happened. To which the dog-keeper answered, that the hound was only disturbed by the light of the torches belonging to the guard, and the noise of the bell. This greatly encouraged *Aratus*'s soldiers, who imagined that the dog-keeper was privy to their design, and was willing to con-

ceal it. But on their scaling the walls, it seemed to be attended with danger, and to require time; for except they mounted one by one, the ladders shook and bent extremely: besides the time pressed, for the cocks began to crow, and the country people who kept the market, were on the road to the city. *Aratus* therefore hasted up, forty being already on the wall, and staying only for a few of those that were still below, he marched to the tyrant's palace, and having seized the main guard without killing a man, instantly sent to desire all his friends to join him, which they did from all quarters. The day by this time began to appear, and the multitude flocked to the theatre, where they continued in suspence, till a public crier proclaimed aloud, *That Aratus the son of Clinias invited the citizens to recover their liberty.* Transported with joy, they flocked in crouds to the tyrant's palace and set it on fire: but *Nicocles* escaping through some subterraneous passages, fled out of the city; and the soldiers, assisted by the *Sicyonians* quenched the fire, and plundered the palace; after which *Aratus* divided the rest of the tyrant's wealth among the citizens. It is remarkable, that not one person on either side was slain in this enterprize, which was thus to the great joy of *Aratus* happily conducted without civil bloodshed.

Aratus restored all the exiles that had been banished by *Nicocles* and the former tyrants, amounting in all to 480, some of whom, hav-

ing led a wandering life, for the space of fifty years, returned home in indigence, and seizing on their farms and houses, threw the city into the utmost confusion. *Aratus* was in the greatest perplexity, for he saw that *Antigonus* now cast a jealous eye on the city, and watched for an opportunity of seizing it. In this situation he thought it most prudent to associate the people to the *Achæan* community, and they willingly assumed the name, and form of government of the *Achæans*, who had then no great power or authority: most of them living in small towns; besides their territory was neither large nor fertile, and the neighbouring sea was without ports. Yet these very *Achæans*, whose strength was hardly equal to that of an ordinary city, by their prudence and unanimity, and by obeying those amongst them who were most eminent for their wisdom and virtue, not only preserved their own liberty, in the midst of so many great and powerful cities, but delivered the greatest part of *Greece* from slavery.

Aratus was more solicitous about the welfare of the state, than his own private concerns; he was a bitter enemy to tyrants, and making the common good the measure of his friendship and enmities, nothing gave him such delight as concord between nations, the association of cities, and unanimity in public assemblies. Having therefore associated himself and his city with the *Achæans*, he served in the cavalry, and was much beloved by the superior officers for his exact obedience; for

though he had made so glorious an addition to the community, as that of his own credit, and the power of his country, he was as ready to obey the commands of any of the Achæan generals, as a common soldier ; and he was so generous, that the king of *Egypt* sending him a present of twenty-five talents, he distributed the whole among his fellow citizens, applying part of it to relieve their necessities, and the remainder to redeem the prisoners. Notwithstanding these great qualities, *Aratus* did not seem the same man at the head of an army, where he was generally guilty of protraction and irresolution ; not that he wanted courage ; but the greatness of the execution rendered him too cautious and diffident of success. While on the other hand, he shewed the most consummate abilities in surprizing towns, and dethroning tyrants.

In the mean time the exiles still disturbing those who were in possession of their estates, the city was in danger of being ruined by civil discord. Having therefore no hope left but from the kindness of *Ptolemy*, he resolved to go to him to procure as much money as would satisfy all parties. He accordingly set sail, designing to pass directly to *Egypt* : but meeting with contrary winds, the pilot with great difficulty made *Adria*, where *Antigonus*, now his enemy, had a garrison. To avoid falling into their hands, *Aratus* with *Timanthes*, one of his friends, immediately landed, and going up into the country, hid themselves in a wood, where they passed the night very

very disagreeably. Soon after they were gone, the governor came to the ship, and enquiring for *Aratus*, was told by his servants, that he had just sailed to the island of *Eubœa*. On which the governor declared the ship, the cargo and servants to be lawful prize, and detained them accordingly.

A few days after, while *Aratus* was in great perplexity, a *Roman* ship happily put in just by the place of his retreat. It was bound for *Syria*, and the master agreed with *Aratus* to land him in *Caria*. But this voyage was as dangerous and tempestuous as the former. His passage from *Caria* into *Egypt* was also long and tedious; but immediately on his arrival, he was admitted to an audience, and found the king in a very favourable disposition, on account of the pictures he used to send him out of *Greece*: for *Aratus* having a fine taste in paintings, had sent *Ptolemy* many valuable pieces done by the best masters: the *Sicyonian* pictures being then highly esteemed, on account of their being the only paintings whose colours were lasting. *Aratus* now making himself better known to the king by his conversation, he became so pleased with him, that he made him a present of 150 talents for the relief of the city. Could any thing be more great and noble, than his thus procuring so considerable a sum for the advantage of his fellow citizens, at a time when nothing was more common, than for commanders and governors, for less money, to oppress, enslave, and betray their country; while he,

by means of this sum, produced a reconciliation between the rich and poor, composed all their differences, and established concord and harmony among the people ! his moderation in the exercise of this honourable office was truly great and admirable ; being declared sole arbitrator of the differences of the exiles, he generously refused to accept of the commission alone, but associated fifteen of the citizens with him, and then, with great pains and trouble adjusted their claims, and settled peace and friendship in the city*. For these services all the citizens in general bestowed honours upon him ; and the exiles erected his statue in brass, with an inscription to his honour.

In the mean time *Antigonus* resolving either to engage *Aratus* in his interest, or to render him suspected by *Ptolemy*, gave him several extraordinary marks of favour, though he was very far from desiring it. Thus having performed a sacrifice at *Cerinib*, he sent a part of the victim to *Aratus*, and in the midst of the feast said aloud, “ I at first thought the youth of *Sicyon* had a generous spirit, and was zealous for the liberty of his country ; but I now consider him also as a good judge of the manners and actions of princes. He formerly despised us, fixing his hopes and dependance on foreign parts, admiring the riches of *Egypt*, her elephants, her

* Mr. *Rollin* justly observes, that these are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

“ fleets,

“ fleets, and the magnificence of her palaces :
“ but having taken a nearer view, and find-
“ ing all this to be only shew and pageantry,
“ he is come over to us. For my part, I
“ willingly receive him, and resolving to
“ make great use of him myself, order you
“ to consider him as a person joined in friend-
“ ship with you.” The envious and malici-
“ ous, taking advantage of this discourse,
strove who should be the first to charge him
in their letters to *Ptolemy*, with the heaviest
calumnies, on which that prince wrote and
expostulated with him. To such ill-will are
those exposed who enjoy the favour of princes !

Aratus, on being chosen general of the *Achæans* for the first time, ravaged the country of *Leeris*, and the territories of *Calydon*. The following year being again elected general, he made the famous attempt of retaking the fortress of the *Acrocorinthus*, that by driving the *Macedonian* garrison from thence, he might free *Greece* from the *Macedonian* yoke. With respect to this fortress, it is proper to observe, that the isthmus of *Corinth* running between the two seas, unites the continent of *Greece* with that of *Peloponnesus*; so that whenever the citadel of *Corinth*, which stands on a high hill in the middle between the two continents, is well garrisoned, it can cut off the communication with *Peloponnesus*, prevent the passage of troops, and prohibit all commerce both by sea and land ; so that it renders him who is possessed of it master of all *Greece*.

Hence

Hence the younger *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, justly termed the city of *Corinth* “the fetters of “*Greece*.” It is therefore no wonder that this post should be a subject of contention. *Antigonus* had longed to obtain the possession of it, with an ardour that equalled the transports of a frantic lover; but despairing of taking it by force, he had employed all his thoughts in contriving how to become master of it by surprize. *Alexander*, who had it in his possession, being poisoned, as it is said, by his direction, *Nicæa*, his wife, became particularly careful of that important fortress: but *Antigonus* immediately sent his son *Demetrius* to pay his addresses to her, who being advanced in years, could not fail of being pleased with the thoughts of her becoming the wife of a young and amiable prince; she could not therefore resist so powerful a temptation, but kept possession of the place in which was a very strong garrison. This he seemed to take no notice of, but causing the marriage to be celebrated in *Corinth*, entertained the people every day with shews and feasts. One day *Amæbeus*, a famous musician, being to perform in the theatre, *Antigonus* waited on *Nicæa*, who was carried thither in a magnificent litter, and was highly elated by the honour he did her; but on their coming to a turning that led up to the citadel, he ordered the men who bore the litter to proceed to the theatre, and then hastened to that fortress with more speed than could be expected from one of his age. Finding the gate shut, he knocked

knocked with his staff, and ordered it to be opened ; on which the garrison surprized at seeing him, instantly obeyed. *Antigonus* was so transported with joy at this success, that unable to contain himself, he, after he had changed the garrison, drank and revelled in the open streets, attended by female singers crowned with garlands. Thus we see, that a sudden joy gives greater agitations to a man void of discretion then either fear or sorrow.

Aratus had formed the design of seizing on that fortress, even while *Alexander* was living ; but the *Achæans* entering into an alliance with *Alexander*, he thought himself bound to abandon that enterprize. But he could not resist a fresh opportunity that offered itself : In *Corinth* were four brothers, *Syrians* by birth, one of whom named *Diocles*, served as a soldier in the garrison ; but the other three having seized on a part of the king's treasure, retired to *Sicyon*, where they sold it to *Aegias* a banker, with whom *Erginus*, one of the three, became intimately acquainted. One day *Aegias* speaking of the citadel, *Erginus* told him, among other things, that as he often went thither to see his brother, he had observed on that side which is steepest, a small winding path cut in the rock, leading to a part of the wall lower than the rest. On which *Aegias* smiling, asked, how he could run such risks, when he knew, that if he was taken he would be punished as severely as if he had betray'd the citadel, and when with less hazard, and with only one hour's service, he might

might purchase immense wealth. This had the desired effect, and *Erginus* promised to found his brother *Diocles*.

A few days after *Erginus* returned, and undertook to conduct *Aratus* to that part of the wall, where it was no more than fifteen feet high, and to assist him in the enterprize, with the concurrence of his brother *Diocles*. Upon this *Aratus* agreed to give him sixty talents, if he succeeded, and if he miscarried, and they returned safe to *Sicyon*, he was to give each of them a talent and a house. As *Aratus* had not so large a sum by him as three score talents, and was unwilling to borrow, for fear of raising some suspicion, he gave his plate and his wife's jewels to *Ægias*, as a security for the money. For such was his generosity and greatness of soul, that he voluntarily chose to hazard his person, and to bear the whole expence of an enterprize, that was for the advantage of those who did not so much as know what he was doing for them. Can any man forbear admiring such virtue? or is there any whose soul is not warmed by the contemplation of the heroic magnanimity of his thus depositing in the hands of another the most valuable part of his substance, to obtain an opportunity of exposing his life among his enemies in the dead of the night, without receiving any other security, than the hopes of performing a glorious action?

The danger of this enterprize was increased by a mistake. *Technon*, one of *Aratus*'s servants, being sent to *Diocles*, whom he had never seen, in order that they might view the

wall

wall together, was positive that he should know him by the description *Erginus* had given of him. But being come to the appointed place without the gate, he waited in expectation of seeing him. In the mean time *Dionysius*, elder brother to *Erginus* and *Diocles*, passed by. He knew nothing of the affair; but *Technon* taking him for *Diocles*, whom he nearly resembled, asked him if he knew *Erginus*, when he answering that he was his brother, *Technon* gave him his hand, and began immediately to discourse with him on the affair, while *Dionysius* encouraging his mistake, seemed to understand him, and returning towards the city, held him in discourse, till being near the gate, he was just about to seize him, when *Erginus* happening to meet them, and apprehending the danger, beckoned to *Technon* to make his escape, and both of them instantly flying, came to *Aratus*. Notwithstanding this accident, *Aratus* did not despair; but sending *Erginus* with money to bribe *Dionysius* to silence, he not only met with success, but returned with them to *Aratus*, who not being willing to trust him, kept him closely confined, while he prepared for the execution of the enterprize.

When every thing was ready, *Aratus* set out in the night with 400 chosen men, few of whom knew where they were going. With this diminutive army he marched to the gates of the city. *Erginus*, with seven men dressed like travellers, first came to it, and having killed the centinels, the ladders were placed against the wall, *Aratus* with a hundred men hastily

hastily mounted them, and without staying for the rest, marched towards the citadel. In their way they met a small guard of four men with a light, three of whom they killed, but the fourth, after being wounded fled, crying that the enemy were got into the city. Instantly the trumpets sounded an alarm, and the whole city was in confusion: the streets were filled with people running different ways, and innumerable lights were lit up both in the city, and the ramparts of the citadel. In the mean while *Aratus* advancing forward, laboured to ascend the rock, at first advancing but slowly and with great difficulty, he having lost the path, which was overshadowed by the craggy parts of the rock, and with many turnings led to the wall: but the moon happily breaking through the clouds, afforded him light in the most difficult part of the way, till he reached the wall, and then disappearing, every thing was involved in obscurity.

The 300 soldiers *Aratus* had left without the gate on entering the city, found it full of tumult and confusion, and every where illuminated, when not being able to find the way *Aratus* had taken, they screened themselves under a rocky precipice, where they waited in the utmost perplexity. *Aratus* was by this time engaged on the ramparts of the citadel, and a noise like that of combatants, reverberated through the mountains. While the 300 soldiers knew not which way to turn themselves, *Achelaus*, captain of the king's guard, with a considerable body of soldiers,

with

with trumpets sounding and great shouts, made up towards the citadel to attack *Aratus*, and marched by the 300 men without perceiving them: but he had no sooner passed by, than rising, as from an ambuscade, they fell upon him, threw his troops into confusion, put them to flight, and pursued them till they were entirely dispersed.

This action was no sooner over, than *Erginus* arrived, who informed them that the enemy defended themselves with great resolution, and that *Aratus* wanted their assistance. On which desiring him to lead them on, they marched up with loud shouts, and having joined *Aratus*, drove the enemy before them, so that by break of day they were masters of the citadel and garrison. The rest of the army then arrived from *Sicyon* to join *Aratus*, and were received by the *Corinthians*, who joyfully opened their gates to them.

Aratus having rendered his victory secure, came down to the theatre, where a vast multitude assembled. He entered amongst them in his armour; but the manly joy and alacrity inspired by his success, were clouded by excessive fatigue. The people on seeing him, broke out into loud expressions of applause: he stood for some time leaning on his spear, while they continued their shouts and acclamations. At length, these first transports of the people being over, he collected the little strength he had left, and made them a speech in the name of the *Achaeans*, suitable to the occasion, persuading the *Corinthians* to join

in the league; at the same time delivering up to them the keys of the city, which had never been in their possession since the time of *Philip*.

Aratus immediately after made himself master of the haven of *Lechœum*, where he seized 25 of the king's ships, 500 horses, and 400 slaves, which he sold. The *Achœans* likewise put a garrison of 400 soldiers, and also 50 dogs, with as many keepers, into *Acrocorinthus*.

The boldness and success of the above exploits, were equal to the greatest actions of the *Grecians*. The *Megarians* now revolting from *Antigenus*, joined *Aratus*, and the *Træzenians* and the *Epidaurians* also entered into the *Achœan* league. He first made an inroad into *Attica*; and then ravaged the isle of *Salamis*; and sending home to *Athens* those prisoners who were freemen, without ransom, laid the foundation of their revolt from *Antigonus*. He likewise drew *Ptolemy* into the *Achœan* league, by resigning the management of the war to him, and causing him to be declared general both by sea and land. In short, so great was *Aratus*'s reputation and credit among the *Achœans*, that he enjoyed the post of general every other year; and by his counsels and actions was in reality their perpetual commander. For they observed, that neither fame nor riches, nor the friendship of kings, nor even the private interest of his country, was so dear to him as the encrease of the *Achœan* power: for it was his opinion, that cities,

which

which are separately weak and inconsiderable, may support and preserve each other when linked together by one common interest; just as the members of the body live, and are nourished by their mutual communication and connection, and when separated putrify and decay.

Aratus being now uneasy at seeing *Argos* continue in bondage, while the most considerable of the neighbouring cities enjoyed perfect freedom under their own laws, resolved to destroy the tyrant *Aristomachus*, and to pay the debt he owed that city for his education, by restoring her to liberty; but the design failed, by its being discovered just when it was ready to be put in execution.

Aristomachus was soon after slain by his own servants; but *Aristippus*, a more cruel tyrant, seizing on the government, *Aratus* hastened with a body of the *Achaeans* to the relief of the city; but finding the *Argives* so reconciled to their slavery, that none came to join him, he retreated. Upon this the *Achaeans* were sued in the court of the *Mantinea*, for committing acts of hostility in the midst of peace, and *Aratus* not appearing, they were cast by *Aristippus*, and fined thirty minae.

As the tyrant now hated and feared *Aratus*, he formed the design of having him murdered, in which he was assisted by king *Antigonus*, and *Aratus* was continually watched by those who sought an opportunity to assassinate him; but where the nobility and the common

people have no other fear but for their governor, he sees with many eyes, and hears with many ears. How different was this situation from that of *Aristippus*! That tyrant, who had king *Antigonus* for his friend and ally, who kept a guard for the security of his person, and had taken away the lives of all his enemies in the city, did not dare to suffer even his guards to do duty in the palace, but had them placed in several stations around it. When supper was over, he constantly sent away all his domestics, and having himself fastened the doors, mounted a ladder with his concubine, into a little chamber, thro' a trap door, on which he placed his bed, and then slept in fear, terror, and anxiety: but for his greater security, the woman's mother removed the ladder every night, and locked it up in another room. In the morning she brought it again, and called this envied tyrant, who like a serpent left his hole.

Aratus, however, made several attempts to surprize *Aristippus*, and deliver *Argos*, though without success. In particular, one night, he even planted his ladders, and with a small number of his followers mounted the wall, exposing himself to the greatest dangers. He flew all the guards who opposed him; but the day no sooner appeared, than the tyrant attacked him on every side, while the *Argives* continued inactive spectators, as if *Aratus* had not been fighting for their liberties. He however defended himself with such resolution, that though he was wounded in the

thigh

thigh with a lance, he kept his ground all day, and could he have maintained it the following night, his labours would have been crowned with success; for the tyrant, thinking only of flight, had already sent the greatest part of his treasure on board his ships. But this was unknown to *Aratus*, who wanting water, and being unable to exert himself on account of his wound, thought proper to retire.

At length *Aratus* being informed that *Aristippus* had a design upon *Cleonæ*, but was deterred from executing it by his residing at *Corinth*, he marched to a greater distance. *Aristippus* deceived by this feint, immediately invested *Cleonæ*: but *Aratus* returning that evening to *Corinth*, proceeded from thence, and having privately entered *Cleonæ* with his troops in the night, at break of day made a furious sally, routed the enemy, and continued the pursuit as far as *Mycenæ*, where the tyrant was slain, with above 1500 of his soldiers. But notwithstanding this victory, which is said to have been obtained without any loss on the side of *Aratus*, he was unable to make himself master of *Argos*, or to restore its liberty: for *Agias*, and the younger *Aristomachus*, getting into the town with the king's forces, seized on the government. However, by this exploit, he silenced the scoffs of those, who, to flatter the tyrants, used to say, that at the sound of a trumpet, the eyes of *Aratus* grew dim, and his head giddy.

He next resolved to oppose *Lysiades* the *Megalopolitan*, who though naturally generous and sensible of true honour, had suffered himself to be deluded by the vain and false applause given to arbitrary power. But he had no sooner seized on the government, than he grew weary under its weight; and at once emulating and fearing *Aratus*, took the glorious resolution of freeing himself from fear and hatred, soldiers and guards, by becoming a public benefactor to his country. Sending therefore for *Aratus*, he resigned the government, and incorporated his city into the *Achæan* community. This step was greatly applauded by the *Achæans*, who chose him general; when desiring to eclipse the glory of *Aratus*, he declared war against the *Spartans*, and *Aratus* opposing it, was on that account charged with envy. *Lysiades* was twice afterwards honoured with the same post, *Aratus* and he governing alternately; but at last declaring himself the professed enemy of *Aratus*, whom he frequently accused to the *Achæans*, he was rejected; the people thinking that with counterfeit merit he contended against true and substantial virtue; for his former tyranny made every one suspect that his change was not sincere.

Aratus acquired fresh laurels in the war with the *Ætolians*. The *Achæans* being very desirous of giving them battle on the confines of *Megara*, where they were assisted by *Agis* king of *Sparta*, who had joined them, *Aratus* warmly opposed it, enduring with the utmost

most patience the charge of cowardice ; for he chose rather to suffer a present disgrace, than to sacrifice the interest of the public. Retiring therefore before the enemy, he permitted them to pass mount *Gerania*, and without opposition to enter *Peloponnesus*. But hearing that in their march they had seized on the city of *Pellene*, he suddenly, without waiting for the rest of his troops, marched against the enemy, whom success had rendered disorderly. They had no sooner entered the walls of *Pellene*, than the soldiers dispersing, entered the houses, and quarrelled for the plunder, while the commanders seizing on the wives and daughters of the *Pellenians*, each put his helmet on the head of his prize, to shew to whom she belonged, and to prevent her being taken by another. They were in this situation when they received the news that *Aratus* was ready to attack them. This threw them into the utmost consternation, and before those in the farthest part of the city knew of the danger, those in the suburbs and nearest the gates were routed, and by their flight into the city, struck terror into those who were rallying and marching to their assistance. Amidst this confusion, the daughter of one of the most considerable of the citizens, who was distinguished by her beauty and the majesty of her statue, was sitting in the temple of *Diana*, where the officer who had made her his prize, had secured her, and placed his helmet, adorned with three plumes of feathers on her head. This lady, alarmed

ed at the noise, arose in order to fly ; but when she came to the gate of the temple, and from the top of the steps, looked down on the combatants, with the helmet still on her head, she seemed something more than human, and the enemy believing her to be a goddess, were struck with such astonishment and terror, that they lost the power of self-defence. This is celebrated as one of the greatest exploits mentioned in history ; and *Timanthes* the painter, gave a very lively and beautiful representation of it.

Soon after many princes and states confederating against the *Achæans*, *Aratus* concluded a peace, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Ætolians*.

Antigonus dying, and *Demetrius* succeeding him in the kingdom, *Aratus* shewed the greatest contempt for the *Macædonians*, and was more than ever determined to restore the *Athenians* to liberty. But being defeated by *Bythis*, *Demetrius*'s general, near *Phylacia*, and it being strongly reported that he was either taken or slain, *Diogenes*, governor of the *Piræus*, sent letters to *Corinth*, commanding the *Achæans* to depart that city, since *Aratus* was dead ; but *Aratus* happening to be there, *Diogenes*' messengers were sufficiently ridiculed, and forced to return. King *Demetrius* also sent a ship from *Macedonia*, to bring *Aratus* in chains, and the *Athenians* to flatter the *Macedonians* on the first news of his death crowned themselves with garlands. *Aratus* now exasperated against them, invaded their territories



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A Lady being taken for a Goddess puts a stop to the Slaughter in the City of Ptolene.

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and penetrated as far as the academy; but then suffered himself to be pacified, and retired without committing farther acts of hostility. This convinced the Athenians of his virtue, so that upon the death of *Demetrius*, when they attempted to recover their liberty, they called him to their assistance. Tho' another person was then general of the *Achæans*, and *Aratus* was confined to his bed by sickness, he caused himself to be carried thither in a litter, and as soon as he arrived, prevailed with *Diogenes*, the governor, to deliver up the *Pyraeus*, the fortress of *Munychia*, the isle of *Salamin*, and *Sunium* to the Athenians, for 150 talents, twenty of which *Aratus* furnished himself. Upon this the *Hermonians* and *Ægiætæ* joined the *Achæans*, and the greatest part of *Arcadia* also becoming tributary to them, the *Achæan* power became considerably increased.

Aratus being still uneasy that tyranny should subsist in a city so near as *Argos*, sent to persuade *Aristomachus* to restore liberty to that city, and to associate it to the *Achæans*, and like *Lysiades*, prefer being the general of a great nation with esteem and honour, to being the tyrant of one city, with hatred and danger. *Aristomachus* consenting, desired *Aratus* to send him fifty talents to pay off his soldiers. This was done, and the next year *Aristomachus* was declared general, and being now highly honoured and esteemed by the *Achæans*, was desirous of invading *Laconia*, and therefore sent for *Aratus* from *Athens*.

Aratus

Aratus unwilling that the *Achæans* should be engaged against *Cleomenes*, a man of the greatest bravery and conduct, wrote to dissuade him from entering on that expedition. But *Aristomachus* resolving to proceed, *Aratus* repaired to the army. However, *Cleomenes* offering them battle near *Pallantium*, *Aratus* prevailed on *Aristomachus* not to engage, on which *Lydiades* brought an accusation against him, and the following year contended with him for the command; but *Aratus* having the majority of voices, was for the twelfth time declared general.

Aratus being that year defeated and put to flight by *Cleomenes* near mount *Lycaum*, lost his way in the dark, and a report was a second time spread that he was slain. But having rallied his forces, he was not contented with marching off in safety, but suddenly, when it was least expected, attacked the *Maninæans*, who were the allies of *Cleomenes*, and having taken the city, placed a garrison in it, and declared all the strangers who had settled there free of the city. Thus when vanquished he procured greater advantages to the *Achæans*, than they could have hoped for from victory itself.

The territories of the *Megalopolitans* being a second time invaded by the *Lacedæmonians*, *Aratus* marched to their assistance; but though the *Megalopolitans* pressed him to fight, and *Cleomenes* did every thing in his power to provoke him to it, he refused coming to an engagement. Indeed he was not naturally

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well qualified to conduct a pitched battle ; besides he was much inferior in the number of his men, and was now in the decline both of his ambition and courage. The light-armed infantry however making a sally, drove the *Lacedæmonians* back to their camp, entered with them, and began to plunder ; yet *Aratus* posting himself in a hollow, hindered his troops from advancing. *Lysiades* filled with rage upbraided *Aratus* with cowardice, and entreated the horse to second those engaged in the pursuit, and neither to suffer the victory to slip out of their hands, nor to forsake him, who was resolved to venture his life in the service of his country. Having drawn together a good body of chosen troops, he attacked the enemy's right wing with such vigour, that he soon put them to flight ; but following the pursuit, with an inconsiderate heat, entangled himself in a winding intricate way, planted thick with trees, and full of broad ditches, where *Cleomenes* turning upon him, he fell, bravely defending the entrance into his country. The rest of the cavalry flying, fell back on the main body, and breaking the ranks, spread their fears through every quarter. This misfortune and disgrace was principally charged on *Aratus*, who was suspected of having betrayed *Lysiades*.

The *Achæans* now retiring in great indignation, obliged him to follow them to *Ægium*, where it was decreed that he should be furnished neither with money nor foreign soldiers ; but that if he would make war, it should

should be at his own expence. This affront he so highly resented, that he was ready to resign the post of general; but upon farther consideration, he resolved to bear it with patience; and soon after marching with a body of the *Achæans* to *Orchomenus*, he defeated *Megistonus*, *Cleomenes*'s father-in-law, killed 300 of his men, and took him prisoner.

But *Cleomenes* taking the city of *Mantinea* a second time, and the *Achæans* being defeated in a great battle near *Hecatombæum*, they were seized with such consternation, that they immediately sent to desire *Cleomenes* to come to *Argos*, and take the government upon him. *Aratus*, however, no sooner heard that he was coming, than fearing the consequences, he sent ambassadors to entreat him to bring no more than 300 men with him, and to offer him hostages if he entertained the least distrust. *Cleomenes* thinking himself insulted, immediately returned, and sent a letter filled with invectives against *Aratus*, to the council of the *Achæans*; while *Aratus* wrote one in the same strain against *Cleomenes*.

Cleomenes now taking *Pellene*, *Pheneus* and *Penteleum*, the *Argives* voluntarily joined him, and the *Phliasians* received a *Spartan* garrison. In short, none of the cities remained firm in the *Achæan* interest, and an universal confusion reigning all around, *Aratus* beheld the whole *Peloponnesus* shaken.

As among the *Sicyonians* and *Corinthians*, many were discovered carrying on a private correspondence with *Cleomenes*, *Aratus* was

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commissioned to try and condemn them without appeal, on which he passed sentence of death on all who were found guilty at *Sicyon*; but when he was proceeding with the same severity at *Corinth*, the people were so irritated, that running tumultuously to the temple of *Apollo*, they sent for him in order to take or kill him. *Aratus* went leading his horse, as if he had no suspicion. On his appearing at the gate of the temple, several rose up, and accused him; but with a steady countenance and a mild address, he desired them not to proceed in so irregular and tumultuous a manner. Then causing those who were standing at the gate to enter the temple, he drew back by little and little, as if he wanted some body to hold his horse. Thus insensibly clearing himself from the crowd, he spoke without any emotion, to as many of the *Corinthians* as he met, pressing them to go to the temple. At length perceiving that he had got near the citadel, he leaped upon his horse, before any one had the least suspicion, and having ordered the commander of the garrison to be careful of his charge, rode to *Sicyon*, followed only by thirty of his soldiers.

It was no sooner known that he was fled, than the *Corinthians* ordered out a party in pursuit of him; but these being unable to overtake him, they sent for *Cleomenes*, to whom they delivered up the city; on which he encompassed the citadel with a wall of circumvallation.

In the mean while *Aratus* arriving at *Sicyon*, the *Achæans* in a general assembly once more declared him commander in chief with absolute authority, and he was allowed a guard composed of his fellow-citizens. After having been the greatest man in *Greece* with respect to power and reputation, for thirty-three years together, he was now exposed to the fury of the tempest that was laying waste his country. The *Ætolians* refused to assist him; but tho' he had a house and some money at *Corinth*, *Cleomenes* instead of seizing them, committed them to the care of *Aratus*'s friends and domestics, and also sent several times to offer him an annual pension of twelve talents, on condition of his procuring him the post of general of the *Achæans*, and his having, in conjunction with them, the custody of the citadel of *Corinth*: to which *Aratus* answered, that he did not now govern the affairs of the *Achæans*, but was rather governed by them. *Cleomenes*, being affronted at this answser, immediately ravaged the territories of *Sicyon*, and blocked up that city during three months.

The *Achæans* now held a council at *Ægium*, to which they invited *Aratus*; but it being very hazardous for him to go out of *Sicyon* while *Cleomenes* was encamped before it, the citizens endeavoured to stop him by their entreaties, protesting that they would not suffer him to expose himself to such evident danger; the women and children also hung about him, weeping, and embrasing him as their common father; but having comforted

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and encouraged them, he mounted his horse, and accompanied by his son, then a youth, and ten of his friends, rode to the sea shore, where finding some vessels at anchor, they embarked, and sailed to *Ægium*. It was there decreed in council, that *Antigonus* king of *Macedonia*, should be called in to their assistance: that the citadel of *Corinth* should be delivered up to him, and *Aratus*'s son was sent as one of the hostages. At this the *Corinthians* being extremely offended, seized on *Aratus*'s treasure; and gave his house to *Cleomenes*.

Antigonus being on his march with an army consisting of 20,000 foot, and 1400 horse, *Aratus* with the other magistrates went to meet him as far as *Pegæ*, though he had no great confidence either in *Antigonus* or the *Macedonians*, but he resolved to venture every thing. However, when *Aratus* came up to *Antigonus*, he received him with peculiar marks of respect, and soon finding him to be a virtuous and prudent man, made him his most intimate friend. Having mutually sworn to be faithful to each other, they marched against the enemy, with whom they had several skirmishes under the walls of *Corinth*, where *Cleomenes* had strongly intrenched himself.

In the mean time *Aristotle* the *Argive*, one of *Aratus*'s friends, sent to let him know, that if he would come to *Argos* with some soldiers, he would induce that city to revolt. Upon this, *Aratus*, with *Antigonus*'s consent, set sail with 1500 men, to *Epidaurus*. But

the *Argives*, without waiting till he arrived, suddenly rose, and attacking Cleomenes's soldiers, drove them into the citadel. Cleomenes now fearing that if he should lose *Argos*, they might cut off his retreat home, quitted the citadel of *Corinth*, and marched to the assistance of his friends in that city. As he arrived there before *Aratus*, he obtained some advantage over his enemies; but *Aratus* soon appearing, and *Antigonus* approaching with his forces, he retreated to *Mantinea*.

All the cities in *Peloponnesus* now declared for the *Achæans*; *Antigonus* took possession of the citadel of *Corinth*; and *Aratus* being chosen general by the *Argives*, prevailed on them to give *Antigonus* the possessions of the late tyrants, and of all the traitors. *Aristomachus* was put to the torture at *Cenchrea*, and then thrown into the sea. *Aratus* was highly blamed for suffering a person to die unjustly, who, at his persuasion, had abdicated the tyranny, and prevailed on the city to unite in the *Achæan* community. He was likewise censured for delivering up the city of *Corinth* to *Antigonus*, for allowing him to put a *Macedonian* garrison into the citadel; and for suffering feasts, games and sacrifices to be offered in honour of *Antigonus*. They did not consider, that having once put the reins into the hands of *Antigonus*, he was hurried along by the impetuosity of the regal authority, that he was master of nothing but his tongue, and that his using even that with freedom was dangerous. Indeed *Aratus* was much

much displeased at several of *Antigonus*'s actions, especially at his restoring the statues of all the tyrants in *Argos*, which he had displaced; and at his removing all the statues of those who had surprized the citadel of *Corinth*, that of *Aratus* only excepted. Besides, the manner in which the *Achæans* now treated the *Mantineans*, seemed inconsistent with the moderation and humanity of the *Grecians*; for having, by the help of *Antigonus*, taken their city, they put to death the principal inhabitants, some of the rest they sold, others they sent bound in fetters into *Macedonia*, and made slaves of their wives and children. Two thirds of the money thus raised were distributed among the *Macedonians*, and the other third they divided among themselves. Afterwards *Antigonus* giving the city to the *Argives*, they resolved to people it, and *Aratus* being chosen director of that affair, it was decreed, that the place should change its name of *Mantinea* to that of *Antigonia*, which it still bears.

Cleomenes being some time after defeated in a great battle near *Sellasia*, forsook *Sparta*, and fled into *Egypt*; and *Antigonus* having treated *Aratus* with the greatest civility and kindness, retired into *Macedonia*, where falling sick, he declared *Philip*, who was very young, his successor; and sending him into *Peloponnesus*, ordered him to follow the advice of *Aratus*, and by his means to treat with the cities. *Aratus* received him with the highest marks of honour, and behaved to him

in such a manner, that he returned into Macedonia filled with affection and respect for him, and the most favourable dispositions with regard to the interest of Greece.

After the death of *Antigonus*, the *Aetolians* despised the *Achæans*, who, since they had been defended by foreigners, had neglected all discipline, and entering the *Peloponnesus*, ravaged the country, and defeated *Aratus* in a pitched battle. Upon this the *Achæans* once more engaged *Philip* in the affairs of *Greece*; flattering themselves, that his friendship for *Aratus* would render him extremely tractable, and therefore they should be able to manage him as they pleased. But *Philip* beginning to listen to some of his courtiers who deprecated *Aratus*, had caused *Eperatus* to be elected general of the *Achæans*. However, as he soon fell into the lowest contempt, that prince then entirely resigned himself to the conduct of *Aratus*, who now shewed the world, that he was as capable of governing a kingdom as a republic; for the king seemed to receive from him a tincture of his character and temper. Thus the moderation shewed by that young prince to the *Lacedæmonians*; his courteous behaviour to the *Cretans*, by which he in a few days gained the whole island; and his successful expedition against the *Aetolians*, procured him great reputation for following such good advice, and to *Aratus* for giving it. This increasing the jealousy and envy of the courtiers, they began in their debauches to treat *Aratus* with the greatest

greatest impudence and scurrility; and once, on his returning to his tent after supper, they threw stones at him. *Philip* was so extremely offended at this, that he fined them twenty talents *; and afterwards perceiving that they continued to perplex his affairs, he caused them to be put to death. But at length, elated by his success, he himself broke thro' all restraint: he injured *Aratus* the younger, by debauching his wife, and for a long time carried on a criminal commerce with her unobserved; for at the invitation of *Aratus*, he lodged in the same house with them. He afterwards treated with severity several cities and communities, and behaved to *Aratus* himself with great coolness and indifference. This alienation began with a quarrel among the inhabitants of *Messene*: *Aratus* marched to that city to put a stop to the sedition; but *Philip* arriving there the day before, encreased the disaffection of the inhabitants, by asking the magistrates, if they were not enabled by law to keep the people in obedience; and by asking the ringleaders if they wanted power to oppose their oppressors. Thus the magistrates made an attempt to seize the leaders of the faction, and they calling in the people to their assistance, slew the magistrates and their friends, amounting in all to near 200.

While the king was still continuing to exasperate the *Messenians*, *Aratus* arrived, and immediately shewed that he resented this in-

* Twenty thousand crowns.

human proceeding. *Philip*, however, giving him his hand, lead him out of the theatre, and took him with him to *Ithome*, in order to sacrifice there to *Jupiter*, and to take a view of the place; which is as strong as the citadel of *Corinth*, and when defended by a good garrison, is almost impregnable. *Philip* having offered sacrifice, the priest presented him with the entrails, on which, taking them in both his hands, he shewed them to *Demetrius of Phariae*, and *Aratus*, asking them, Whether by the tokens in the sacrifice it was best for him to keep the fort, or to restore it to the *Messenians*. To which *Demetrius* answered smiling, “ If thou hast the soul of a priest, “ thou wilt restore it; but if of a prince, “ thou wilt hold the bull by both the “ horns;” meaning, that the *Peloponnesus* would be entirely at his mercy, if he possessed both *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus*. *Aratus* stood for some time silent; but *Philip* desiring him to give his opinion, he cried, “ Thieves “ may shelter themselves on rocks and precipices, but the strongest forts for a king “ are humanity, justice, and honour. By “ these qualities thou hast opened the *Cretan* “ sea; these have made thee master of *Peloponnesus*, and by their help, young as thou “ art, thou art become general of the one, “ and sovereign of the other.” *Philip*, while he was speaking, returned the entrails to the priest, and then taking *Aratus* by the hand, said, as if overcome by his arguments, “ Come on then; let us go as we came.”

Aratu

Aratus began now to withdraw by degrees from Philip's company, apprehending that his actions would involve him in disgrace: but afterwards, when that prince had shamefully lost his fleet in the war with the *Romans*, and miscarried in all his designs, he returned into *Peloponnesus*, where he first strove, by his artifices, to gain over the *Messenians*; but this failing, he plundered and ravaged their country. On which Aratus entirely renounced his friendship. By this time he also learnt the dishonour done to his son's bed, which, though it grieved him extremely, he carefully concealed from his son. Philip, from being a mild and temperate king, was now become a lascivious and cruel tyrant. But this was not so properly a change in his nature, as a discovery of his vicious inclinations, which fear had obliged him to conceal. His former regard for Aratus had a great mixture of awe; and now, not thinking himself free while he was alive, and not daring to attempt his life by open force, he ordered Taurion, an officer in his army, and one of his intimate friends, to poison him. Taurion therefore contracted a pretended friendship with Aratus, and by that means found an opportunity of giving him a slow dose of poison, which by degrees wasted his body. Aratus soon discovered what had been done; but being sensible that it would be to no purpose to complain, he bore it patiently and in silence. Only once when spitting blood, a friend who was with him in his chamber wonder-

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Aratu

wondering at the cause, he answered, "These, " O Cephalon, are the rewards bestowed by " the friendship of kings."

Aratus died in *Ægium* in his seventeenth generalship*. The *Achæans* were ambitious of having him buried there, and were desirous of giving him a funeral and monument suitable to the glory of his actions; but the *Sicyonians* thinking they should be dishonoured by his being interred any where but in their city, prevailed with the *Achæans* to allow them to dispose of his body: on which they removed it from *Ægium*, and in a solemn procession crowned with garlands, and cloathed in white garments, brought it with songs and dances into the city, where they interred it in the most conspicuous place, as the founder and preserver of their city. On that spot, which is to this day called *Aratium*, they annually offer two sacrifices to him, the one on the day he delivered the city from tyranny, which was on the 5th of *February*, and the other on his birth-day. At these sacrifices hymns were sung to the harp, by the singers belonging to the theatre; the procession began with the master of the *Gymnasium*, attended by the boys and young men, who were followed by the senate wearing garlands, and as many citizens as pleased to attend. Some traces of these ceremonies still remain, but the greatest part of them have, through intervening accidents, fallen into disuse.

* About the 214th year before the birth of our Saviour.

As to the younger *Aratus*, *Philip* gave him poison which deprived him of his reason, so that though he died in the flower of his age, his death was considered as a deliverance from misery. *Philip*, however, suffered severely all the rest of his life for these monstrous violations of hospitality and friendship. Being defeated by the *Romans*, he was deprived of most of his dominions, and was obliged to surrender his whole navy, except five ships; to pay 1000 talents, and to give up his son for an hostage. The *Romans*, however, out of compassion, left him *Macedonia* and its dependencies, where putting to death his nearest relations, and the noblest of his subjects, he rendered himself detested by his whole kingdom. The only comfort he had left was a son remarkable for his virtue; but envying the honours he received from the *Romans*, he put him also to death, and left his kingdom to *Perseus*, his other son, whom *Paulus Aemilius* led in triumph, and who was the last of the royal race of *Antigonus*.



THE
LIFE
OF
GALBA.

THE misfortunes suffered by the Romans after the death of *Nero* plainly demonstrate, that nothing is more dangerous than a licentious military power. This broke in pieces the *Roman* empire, and introduced misfortunes, that arose not from the ambition of the emperors, but the avarice and extravagance of the soldiers, which made them, from private views of advantage, dethrone them at pleasure. *Dionysius*, the tyrant of *Sicily*, mentioning *Alexander* of *Pheræus*, who was murdered after he had reigned in *Thessaly* only ten months, called him the tyrant of a tragedy; but in less time the palace of

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the *Cæsars* at *Rome* had no less than four emperors; one making his exit, and another entering, as if they had been only the actors in a play. The *Romans*, it is true, amidst all their sufferings, had this consolation, that among the authors of their miseries, he fell first who first seduced the soldiers by inspiring them with mercenary views, and disgraced an action, in itself so glorious, as was the revolt against *Nero*, by debasing it into treason. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, captain of the prætorian cohorts, observing that *Nero* was on the point of flying into *Egypt*, persuaded the army to declare *Galba* emperor, promising every soldier of the prætorian cohorts 7500 drachmas *, and to every soldier quartered in the provinces 1250; which amounted to so immense a sum, that it was impossible to raise it without oppressing the people, infinitely more than even *Nero* had done. This soon destroyed *Nero*, whom they murdered in expectation of receiving the promised sum; and soon after *Galba* too, for not making good this promise. Thus while they fought for one who would give them what they had been made to expect, they destroyed one another by their rebellions, without obtaining the object of their hopes.

Sulpitius Galba was the richest man that ever rose from a private station to the imperial dignity: he was of a very noble extraction, being descended from the family of the *Servii*,

* The drachmæ was worth 7d. of our money.

and was related to *Livia*, the wife of *Augustus*, by whose interest he was raised from an office he held in the palace, to the dignity of consul. It is said, that he discharged with great honour a command he held in *Germany*, and being made proconsul of *Lybia*, distinguished himself among those who had gained the highest reputation in that province. *Nero* entrusted him with the government of *Spain*, before he stood in fear of the greatest and most powerful of the citizens.

The collectors of the emperor's tribute then cruelly oppressed the provinces; but though it was not in *Galba*'s power to afford them relief, he shewed the people that he was concerned for their sufferings, which afforded them some consolation. At the same time some satirical songs were dispersed, and every where sung against *Nero*, which *Galba* took no care to suppress, though those officers prosecuted the authors and promoters of them with great severity; and this rendered him still more beloved by the natives, with many of whom he contracted a friendship.

He had held his government eight years, when *Junius Vindex*, who commanded in *Gaul*, intending to revolt against *Nero*, is said to have communicated his design to *Galba*, who neither countenanced nor discovered it. Soon after *Vindex* openly declared war against *Nero*, and wrote again to *Galba*, to exhort him to assume the government, and put himself at the head of the *Gauls*, 100,000 of whom were in arms, and wanted a leader. Upon

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this *Galba* called a council of his friends; some of whom being of opinion that he ought to wait in order to see what part *Rome* would take, *Titus Vinius*, captain of one of the prætorian cohorts, cried, “ What room is there for deliberation? To debate whether we shall continue faithful to *Nero*, is as bad as to rebel against him. You must therefore either embrace the proposal made by *Vindex*, or instantly accuse, and march to suppress him.” Upon this *Galba* published an edict, appointing a day for enfranchising all who desired freedom. This edict brought together a vast multitude, and he could scarce mount the tribunal before every voice joined in saluting him emperor. He however at first refused to take the title; but having bitterly inveighed against *Nero*, and lamented the loss of those that tyrant had put to death, he declared, *That he devoted himself to the service of his country, not as emperor, but only as lieutenant to the senate and people.*

Nero seemed at first to despise *Galba*, and to be under no apprehensions of the *Gauls*; yet afterwards hearing of *Galba*’s motions just after he sat down to supper, he in great fury overturned the table. The senate, however, had no sooner declared *Galba* an enemy to the state, than he said to his friends, with an air of confidence, “ I have long wanted a pretence for raising money, and now I have it. On my conquering the *Gauls*, all their wealth will be mine; mean while I will take possession of *Galba*’s estate.” He ac-

cordingly ordered it to be sold. When this news was brought to *Galba*, he in return, sold *Nero's* estate in *Spain*.

Great numbers now continually revolting from *Nero*, all declared for *Galba*, except *Virginius Rufus*, general of the army in *Germany*, and *Clodius Mace*, who commanded in *Africa*, but from different views they acted separately. *Clodius*, who was conscious of his being guilty of rapine and murder, to which he was prompted by his unbounded avarice and cruelty, would neither accept nor reject the imperial title: and though *Virginius* had under his command some of the best legions in the empire, who had often pressed him to assume the title of emperor, he declared, that neither he himself, nor any one else, should assume it, without being elected by the senate.

This threw *Galba* into the greatest perplexity; but when the armies of *Virginius* and *Vindex* had forced their chiefs to come to a battle; and *Vindex*, after losing 20,000 *Gauls* on the spot, had laid violent hands on himself, it was said that the victorious army threatened *Virginius*, that if he would not accept the empire, they would return to *Nero*. *Galba* alarmed at this report, wrote to exhort *Virginius* to join with him, in order to preserve the empire, and restore the liberty of the *Romans*, and then retired to *Colonia* a city of *Spain*, where he resided for some time in a state of ease and privacy.

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It was now summer, and *Icelus*, one of his freedmen, arriving in seven days from the capital of the empire, entered a room where *Galba* was reposing himself, and immediately informed him, that *Nero* not appearing abroad, first the army, and then the senate and people had declared *Galba* emperor. That soon after it was said the tyrant was slain ; but not being willing to trust to common report, he went, and having seen the dead body on the ground, hastened away to bring him the news. *Galba* was transported with this account, and his door was instantly crowded by a number of people, who were greatly encouraged, tho' the expedition used by the messenger appeared almost incredible ; but two days after *Titus Vinius*, with several others, arrived from the camp, bringing a particular account of the proceedings of the senate.

Nymphidius Sabinus, in the mean time suddenly usurped the supreme authority at *Rome* ; for *Galba* being seventy-three years of age, he considered him as an infirm old man, who would never be able to return to that city. Besides, the soldiers thought him their benefactor, on account of the immense sums he had given them, while they looked upon *Galba* as their debtor. He first commanded *Tigellinus*, who was joined in command with him, to lay down his office : he then made magnificent entertainments for those who had been consuls, or who had commanded in the army, who were all invited in *Galba*'s name. He instructed many of the soldiers to say, that a petition should be sent to *Galba*, to desire

him to appoint *Nymphidius* perpetual and sole commander. But soon the respect paid him by the senate so far encreased his arrogance, that he was even dreaded by those most attached to him. He highly resented the consuls not putting his seal to their dispatches, and it is said, that he once thought of punishing them for that affront, but was appeased upon their apology and submision. To ingratiate himself with the people, he suffered them to put to death as many of *Nero*'s party as fell into their hands, and several innocent persons were torn in pieces. Whence *Mauricus*, one of the best men in the city, declared in the senate, that he feared they should soon have reason to wish for *Nero*. *Nymphidius* now caused a report to be spread, that he was the son of *Caius Cæsar*, who in his youth had an amour with *Nymphidius*'s mother, who was a sempstress; but this was after the birth of *Nymphidius*, who was more probably the son of a gladiator. He now aspired to the empire, and sent *Gelianus*, one of his friends, into *Spain*, as a spy upon *Gallia*.

However, after the death of *Nero*, every thing succeeded with *Galba*; though *Virinius Rufus* gave him some uneasiness; for he was afraid, lest being at the head of so powerful an army, and his having the province of *Gaul* added to his command, he should listen to those who pressed him to accept the government. But he continued firm to his first resolutions, even though one of the tribunes

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bunes entered his tent with his sword drawn, and threatened that he should receive that, or the empire. But *Fabius Valens* who commanded one of the legions, having taken an oath of fidelity to *Galba*, and *Virginius* being informed by letters from *Rome* of the resolutions of the senate, he prevailed on the army, though not without great difficulty, to acknowledge *Galba* for emperor, who soon after sending *Flaccus Hordeonius* to succeed him in the command, he resigned it to that general. *Virginius* then went to meet *Galba*, whom he attended to *Rome*, but did not receive from him the least mark either of respect or resentment. *Galba* had indeed a very great esteem for him; but his friends, particularly *Titus Vinius*, prevented his shewing it; in which he contributed to that happiness he thought he was opposing: for by preventing his preferment, he undesignedly preserved him from the calamities in which the other officers were soon after involved.

The ambassadors sent from the senate met *Galba* near *Narbo*, a city of *Gaul*, where they besought him to make all possible haste to shew himself to the people, who impatiently longed for his presence. *Galba* gave them a very gracious reception, talked to them with great familiarity, and invited them to an entertainment, where, though *Nymphiidius* had sent him a great quantity of *Nero*'s rich furniture, he used none but his own. *Titus Vinius*, however, representing, that his simplicity and modesty

modesty betrayed an ambition of popularity beneath his dignity, and persuading him to make use of *Nero's* riches, in order to render his entertainments truly royal and magnificent, *Galba* soon shewed, that he was entirely governed by him.

Vinius was both addicted to women, and extremely covetous. Being one night invited to supper by the emperor *Claudius*, he had the meanness to steal a silver cup, which being told to the emperor, he the next day invited him to sup with him again; but ordered the officers, who waited at the table, to serve *Vinius* in nothing but earthen ware, and this was the only manner in which he shewed his disapprobation. However, the robberies he afterwards committed when he governed *Galba* as he pleased, were attended with many tragical consequences.

Nymphidius being at length informed by *Gellianus*, whom he had sent into *Spain* in order to be a spy on *Galba*, that *Cornelius Laco*, who had been declared captain of the prætorian band, and *Vinius* the chief favourite at court, prevented his gaining access to the emperor; he summoned all the officers of the prætorian cohorts, and told them, that *Galba* was indeed an honest harmless old man; but suffered himself to be guided by *Vinius* and *Laco*, who made an ill use of their power; that they ought therefore to send ambassadors to the emperor in the name of the whole army, to remonstrate the necessity of removing

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ing them from his service. But finding that the officers thought it strange and absurd to prescribe to an emperor of his age and experience, what friends he ought or ought not to trust; he wrote letters to terrify *Galba*, by pretending, sometimes that the city was ready to revolt; at others that the armies in *Germany* were mutinying; and at others, that the troops in *Judea* and *Syria* were in the same disposition: but finding that *Galba* gave no credit to what he had written, he resolved to seize the imperial dignity.

At length a night was fixed in which *Nymphidius* was to be conveyed into the camp, and there proclaimed emperor. But in the evening *Antonius Honratus*, the first of the tribunes, assembling the soldiers under his command, censured both himself and them for so frequently changing; and observing that there was some reason for what they had done against *Nero*, who had justly exasperated them by his cruelty and tyranny, added,

“ But by what reasons are you prompted to
 “ abandon *Galba*? Can you reproach him
 “ with the murder of his wife and mother?
 “ Did he ever disgrace the imperial dignity,
 “ by exposing himself as an actor on the
 “ stage? Ought *Galba* then to fall a victim
 “ to appease the ghost of *Nero*? Must we
 “ remove one of *Livia*’s family, to make
 “ way for the son of *Nymphidia*? Ought we
 “ not rather, by punishing him for his crimes,
 “ to shew our fidelity to *Galba*? ”

The

The tribune, by this discourse, brought over all who heard him to his sentiment, and these going immediately to their companions, exhorted them to maintain inviolably their oath to the emperor, and persuaded a great number to join them. *Nymphidius* hearing at the same time a loud shout, imagined, as some suppose, that he was proclaimed emperor, or else that his presence would be necessary to prevent an insurrection, he therefore hasted thither, attended by a multitude of lights, holding in his hand a speech composed for him by *Cinzonius Varro*, which he had got by heart, in order to repeat it to the army. But finding the gates of the camp shut against him, and the walls manned with armed soldiers, he was struck with fear; however, still advancing towards them, he asked, by whose direction they were then in arms? They answered, that they acknowledged no other person for emperor but *Galba*; when pretending to approve this disposition, he commended their loyalty, and was soon admitted with a few of his followers into the camp. Immediately a dart was thrown at him, which *Septimius*, who marched before him, received on his shield; but soon after several others attacking him with drawn swords, he fled, and was followed into a soldier's tent, where he was murdered. His body was then dragged into the midst of the camp, and the next morning exposed to public view.

Galba was no sooner informed of his death than he ordered all his accomplices to be slain;

blain; a method of proceeding that was justly considered as arbitrary and illegal: for every one expected a very different method of government: the people were most concerned for the death of *Petronius Turpilianus*, who was of consular dignity; for they imagined that a man in his circumstances, broken with age, and who had not taken up arms, ought to have been spared by a prince, who resolved to observe that moderation in his actions, which he had promised in his speeches.

When *Galba* arrived within twenty-five furlongs of the city, he was met by a body of seamen, who had been enrolled in the army by *Nero*, and formed into a legion. These addressing themselves to *Galba*, insisted on having their establishment confirmed, blocked up the way, and suffering none but themselves to approach the emperor, clamorously demanded colours, and legionary quartets. *Galba* would have put them off till another time; this they took for a denial, and growing mutinous, some of them drew their swords. *Galba* then commanded the horse to attack them, on which they were routed on their first onset, and many of them killed in their flight. His thus entering the city through much blood and slaughter, was considered as an ill omen; and as he was before despised by some on account of his age and infirmities, he was now looked upon with fear and terror.

He was now desirous of reforming the extravagant donations made in the reign of *Nero*,
but

but in this he ran into the other extreme. He even caused a strict enquiry to be made into all the money *Nero* had lavished away on players and wrestlers, and resuming it, suffered them to enjoy only a tenth part; but these being a dissolute set of people, most of them had spent all their money; he was therefore no great gainer by the resumption; but extending his enquiry to those who had bought or received any thing from them, he forced them also to refund. This being an enquiry without end, by which many were affected, it brought great disgrace on *Galba*, and rendered *Vinius* the object of universal hatred; for it was evident that he rendered the emperor Fordid and avaricious, in order to gratify his own insatiable avarice, by getting every thing into his hands.

The aged emperor was indeed very much injured by *Vinius*, who defeated *Galba*'s best intentions, particularly in the punishment of the miscreants, who had been employed by *Nero* in the administration of affairs. Several of these the emperor justly caused to be put to death; at which the people clapping their hands when they saw them led to execution, cried that it was a most glorious procession; adding, that both gods and men demanded that *Tigellinus*, *Nero*'s instructor in tyranny, should be also punished; but he was spared, because he had purchased that favour of *Vinius* with large sums of money: yet the people of *Rome* desired nothing so passionately as to see him led to execution. This they daily insisted upon

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on in the Theatre and Circus ; on which the emperor at last published an edict, in which he assured them, that *Tigellinus* being in a consumption, could not live long, and desired them not to make his government appear cruel and tyrannical. The people were much displeased, while *Tigellinus* offered a sacrifice to the gods for his deliverance, and made a magnificent entertainment, to which *Vinius* went with his daughter, who was then a widow. In their revels *Tigellinus* drinking to her, made her a present of 250,000 drachmas, and ordering the chief of his concubines to take from her own neck, a necklace worth 150,000 more, obliged her to give it the widow.

Every thing the emperor did, tho' ever so generous and humane, was now censur'd. Thus his lenity to the *Gauls*, who had joined in the conspiracy with *Vindex*, was misrepresented ; for the favours they receiv'd from the clemency of *Galba*, it was supposed they purchased of *Vinius* at a very high price, and hence the government became odious to the people. The soldiers, however, still continued quiet from the expectation of the donative that had been promised them. But at length, when *Galba* was told that they began to murmur and complain, he replied, that it was his custom to chuse, and not to buy his soldiers. This filled them with an implacable hatred against him, imagining, that he not only defrauded them himself, but gave an ill precedent to his successor.

Though the prætorian bands at *Rome* were inclined to revolt, their respect for *Galba*, who was present among them, abated their vehemence, and finding no sufficient cause for rebellion, they, for the present, curbed their discontent: but the army that had formerly served under *Virginius*, and were then commanded in *Germany* by *Flaccus*, valuing themselves on their late victory over *Vindex*, which had been unrewarded, would not be restrained by their officers, or by even their general himself. At one of their festivals, when the officers, as usual, wished happiness to the emperor, they all replied, " If he be worthy ; " and the legions under the command of *Tigellinus* being guilty of the like insolence, *Galba* suspecting that he might be despised, both on account of his old age, and his want of issue, resolved to nominate a successor.

There then lived at *Rome* a young man named *Otho*, who was chiefly distinguished by his luxurious and debauched life, and was most known by his being the husband of *Poppea*. *Nero* fell in love with that lady while she was the wife of *Crispinus*; but not having then thrown off all respect for his wife and his mother, concealed his passion, and engaged *Otho*, whose debaucheries had recommended him to *Nero*, to sollicit her private in his behalf. He therefore corrupted the mind of *Poppea*, by flattering her with the hopes of having that prince for her lover, and having at last prevailed on her to part with

her husband, who was now a rival; offended perhaps, by too much familiarity; have *Nero* confounded the *Otho's* life, it was put to death. *Poppea* prevailed into *Livia*, prudently from her.

He was a provincial with his wife, that he was. He also had a servant-table, and none of his serving-companions, many of them, *Crassus*, a man of his private, obtained no and easiness with him.

her husband, took her as his own wife. He was now, however, uneasy at sharing her with a rival; but *Poppaea* was so far from being offended at his jealousy, that fearing, perhaps, lest *Nero*'s appetite should be blunted by too easy an access, or chusing rather to have *Nero* as a gallant than a husband, she refused to admit him when *Otho* was absent. *Otho*'s life was now in no small danger, and it was astonishing that *Nero*, who had then put to death his wife and sister for the sake of *Poppaea*, should yet spare *Otho*. But *Seneca* prevailed on that prince to send him as prætor into *Lusitania*, where he behaved with such prudence and moderation, that he was far from being disagreeable to the inhabitants.

He was the first of all the governors of the provinces who declared for *Galba*, and taking with him all his plate, presented it to him, that he might have it coined for his service. He also made him a present of such of his servants as were best qualified to manage the table of a prince; and soon shewed, that none of *Galba*'s friends were more capable of serving him in the administration. He accompanied him in his journey to *Rome*, travelling with him in the same chariot for many days together, making his court to *Vitellius*, and yielding to him the first place in his prince's favour; by which means he obtained the second, with the advantage of being neither envied nor hated. He was affable and easy of access to all who had any business with him; but treated the officers of the

army with peculiar respect, many of whom he, by his interest, caused to be preferred to the highest posts. Whenever he entertained *Galba* at his own house, he gratuated himself into the favour of the cohort on guard, by presenting a piece of gold to every soldier; by which means he circumvented his prince, and established his interest among the præterian bands.

Galba now deliberating on the choice of a successor, *Vinius* proposed *Otho*, who had promised to marry his daughter whenever *Galba* should adopt him, and declare him his successor. But *Galba* preferring the good of the public to his own private views and inclinations, was desirous of adopting, not the person most agreeable to himself, but one who was most likely to contribute to the happiness of his people. He therefore gave *Vinius* a favourable hearing, but referred the farther consideration of the affair till another time.

In the mean while the forces in *Germany* mutinied; urging, that *Virginius Rufus* had been removed with disgrace, while the *Gauls* who fought against them were rewarded; and that *Galba* seemed to think himself obliged to none but *Vindex*, by his continuing to honour his memory with public oblations. While these discourses were held with impunity in the camp, *Flaccus* summoned the army to appear according to custom, on New-year's Day, to take the anniversary oath to the emperor; upon which, having broke the statues

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of *Galba*, they, instead of taking the oath, swore that they would be faithful to the senate and people, and then retired. Their officers, who dreaded anarchy as much as rebellion, strove to pacify them; and one of them addressed them in the following manner:

“ What, my fellow soldiers, are we doing?
 “ we are not appointing another emperor,
 “ though we are resolved not to adhere to
 “ *Galba*; and we act, as if in freeing our-
 “ selves from him, we resolved to throw off
 “ all subjection. *Hordeonius Flaccus* is a mere
 “ shadow of *Galba*, let us therefore overlook
 “ him. But *Vitellius*, commander of the
 “ lower *Germany*, whose father was censor,
 “ and thrice consul, is but one day’s march
 “ from us. The poverty for which some
 “ have reproached him, is a proof of his in-
 “ tegrity and magnanimity: let us there-
 “ fore, by declaring for him, shew that we
 “ know how to chuse an emperor better than
 “ either the *Spaniards* or the *Lusitanians*.”

This motion was approved by some, and rejected by others; mean while an ensign privately leaving the camp, went immediately to *Vitellius*, whom he found giving an entertainment to a great number of his officers, and told him what had passed. The news was soon spread through the whole army; and the next day *Fabius Valens*, who commanded one of the legions, went with a considerable body of horse, and saluted *Vitellius* emperor: who, though he had some days before refused to accept of the empire, as a burden too

heavy for him, he now came out, and made no scruple to receive the honour they bestowed upon him. At the same time the soldiers commanded by *Flaccus*, in spite of their professions of obedience to the senate, took the oath of allegiance to *Vitellius*.

Galba, on being informed of this revolt, no longer delayed to nominate a successor; but without communicating his design to any one, sent for *Piso*, the son of *Craesus* and *Scribonia*, who were slain by *Nero*, a youth distinguished by his temperance and severity of manners, and formed by nature for every virtue. *Galba* took him with him to the camp; named him *Cæsar*, and declared him his successor. Those who were present, observed with admiration the countenance and voice of *Piso*, in which there appeared no signs of astonishment, though he seemed fully sensible of the greatness of the favour. On the other hand, *Otho* appeared mortified and enraged at his disappointment, which considering as a proof of *Galba*'s dislike to him, made him very apprehensive of the consequence, and he went away agitated by a variety of passions. A few of his friends now endeavoured by bribes and promises to gain over the army, in which they found no great difficulty, they being ripe for a revolt.

The sixth day after the adoption of *Piso*, *Galba* in the morning offered a sacrifice in the palace, at which several of his friends were present. When *Umbricius*, the diviner, taking the entrails of the victim in his hands, declared

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clared that they clearly shewed that the emperor was threatened with some imminent danger from treason. *Otho*, who stood behind the emperor, listening to *Unbrius*, was extremely disconcerted; but *Onomastus*, one of his freedmen coming in at that instant, told him that the architects waited for him: this was the signal for his meeting the soldiers. He therefore retired, telling the emperor, that he had purchased an old house, and was going to shew its defects to some builders. He proceeded to the Forum, where the first party of the guards to whom he shewed himself, proclaimed him emperor. It is said that they did not amount to above twenty-three, and that, though he was far from being so timorous and effeminate as might be expected from his dissolute manner of life, yet he was so discouraged at the smallness of their number, that he desired them to suffer him to drop his pretensions. This they would not allow, but drawing their swords, surrounded the chair in which he was carried, and ordered those who bore it to march on; while he cried out several times, “I am a lost man.” On their carrying him across the Forum, he was joined by just such another party, and these were followed by others, who came three or four at a time, who drawing their swords, and saluting him emperor, conducted him to the camp, which he was suffered to enter without resistance; for those who were unacquainted with the design, being mingled among those who had

had engaged in it, followed the rest, at first through fear, and afterwards from persuasion and choice.

This news was brought to *Galba* while *Umbricius* was still standing by him with the entrails in his hand. The people now ran in great confusion from the Forum to the palace, where *Vinius*, and several of *Galba*'s freedmen drew their swords to protect his person. *Piso* hastened to the life-guard; and *Marius Celsus*, a person of distinguished merit and courage, was sent to make sure of the *Illyrian* cohort, which was stationed in the *Vipsanian* portico. *Galba* was desirous of leaving the palace, and shewing himself to the people; but was opposed by *Vinius*, while others encouraged him to go. A rumour was now spread, that *Otho* was slain in the camp, and soon after *Julius Atticus*, a man of considerable rank among the guards, came running in, crying aloud, *I am the man who has killed Cæsar's enemy*; and pressing through the crowd, came up with his bloody sword to the emperor, who looking earnestly at him, asked, Who had ordered him to do it? To which he replied, *My fidelity, and the oath I have taken*. At this the people clapping their hands, cried, It was bravely done.

Galba went soon after in his chair, to sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and shew himself to the people; but he had scarce entered the Forum, when it was suddenly reported that *Otho* was become master of the camp. Some were now for having *Galba* return, and others insisted that

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that he should proceed ; some encouraged him to fear nothing, while others advised him to be circumspect and wary. In this contest, as in a storm, his chair was borne sometimes one way, and sometimes another. Suddenly there appeared a party of horse, and then another of foot, crying aloud, *Away with this private man.* On every side the people ran to the porticos, and other elevated places about the Forum, as if to behold some spectacle. *Attilius Virgilio* gave the signal by throwing down *Galba's* statues ; on which a great number of darts were aimed at *Galba's* chair ; but finding that he remained un-wounded, they rushed upon him with their drawn swords, while among so many myriads, only one man dared to defend him, and by his bravery shewed that he was truly worthy of the *Roman* empire. This was *Sempronius Indistrus*, who, without having received any particular favour from *Galba*, placed himself before his chair, and holding up the vine branch with which the centurions correct the soldiers who deserve punishment, commanded them to spare the emperor, when being assaulted, he for a considerable time defended himself with his sword, till receiving a wound in the ham, he fell. *Galba's* chair was overturned near the *Curtian* lake, and he was wounded in many places, particularly in his arms and legs, as he rolled on the ground ; when presenting his neck, he cried, “ Strike, if it be for the good of the public.” He was then stabbed in the throat ; and

and it is said that *Fabius Fabulus* having cut off his head, and finding it so bald that there was no hair to hold it by, wrapped it up in the skirt of his garment; but his companions not suffering him to conceal it, he fixed it on the point of a spear, and swinging about the head of a man venerable with age, a mild prince, a chief priest and consul, ran like a furious Bacchanal, brandishing his weapon, from which still trickled the blood *.

Otho on seeing the head presented to him, cried, “ This, my fellow soldiers, is nothing, without you bring me that of *Piso* too.” It was brought him soon after; for he being wounded fled, and was slain near the temple of *Vesta*. *Vinius* was killed at the same time, though he protested that he was in the conspiracy, and that their murdering him was contrary to the orders of *Otho*. They, however cut off his head, as they did also that of *Laco*, captain of the prætorian band, and presented them to *Otho*, desiring him to reward them for their service. Even many who had not the least share in the murder, shewing their bloody hands and swords to *Otho*, petitioned for a reward. A hundred and twenty of these petitions, were afterwards found by *Vitellius*, on which causing a diligent search to be made after their authors, he put them all to death. *Marius Celsus* entering the camp, was loudly accused of

* *Galba* thus died on the 10th of *January*, in the year 69.

having exhorted the soldiers to assist *Galba*, and the multitude called out, that he should be put to death. But *Ortho* saying, that he wanted first to get some intelligence from him, ordered him to be put in irons, and committed him to the custody of some of his friends.

The senate were immediately assembled ; and, as if they had other gods to swear by, took the same oath to *Ortho*, that he himself had a little before taken to *Galba*, and had just violated ; and they even conferred on him the titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, while the headless bodies of the slain lay in their consular robes in the Forum. As to the heads, that of *Vinius* was sold to his daughter for 2500 drachmas ; *Piso*'s was begged by *Verania*, his wife ; but *Galba*'s, after being used with the utmost indignity, was cast into the *Sestertium*, where are thrown the bodies of those slain by the emperors ; but afterwards was, by *Ortho*'s permission, conveyed away, and buried in the night by *Argius*, his freedman.

Such was the fate of *Galba*, who with respect to wealth and nobility, was inferior to few of his cotemporaries : who had lived with great honour and reputation under five emperors ; and who overpowered *Nero*, rather by the excellence of his character, than by the force of arms. He was invited to accept of the empire, and only yielded obedience to the invitation. It could not be said, that he seized the empire, but that he resigned

having

resigned himself up to it, vainly hoping to govern forces that had been corrupted by the flattery and indulgence of *Tigellinus* and *Nymphi-dius*. Though enfeebled by age, he shewed himself in every thing relating to armies and military operations, an emperor worthy of commanding the forces of the ancient *Romans*. But by suffering himself to be ruled by *Vinius*, *Laco*, and his freedmen, who imitating the insatiable wretches that had governed *Nero*, he lost himself so far, that tho' many *Romans* pitied his fate, none were desirous of the continuance of his government.



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W HEN *Otho* was created emperor*, he went early the next morning to the Capitol, where he sacrificed, and having sent for *Marius Celsus*, saluted him, and desired that he would rather forget his fault, than remember his release; to which *Celsus* justly answered, that his very crime was a testimony of his integrity, since he was accused of having been true to *Galba*, from whom he had received no personal obligations. Up-

* The particulars of his life before this time are mentioned in the foregoing life of *Galba*.

on this all who were present admired them both, and the soldiers joined their applause.

Otho began with making a very mild and popular speech to the senate. He displaced none who had been nominated to the consulship by *Nero* or *Galba*, promoted to the priesthood such as, on an account of their age and characters, were worthy of respect, and restored to the senators whom *Nero* had banished, and *Galba* recalled, all their estates that remained unsold. From these beginnings the nobility and principal citizens, who had at first conceived the most melancholy apprehensions of his government, began to entertain the most pleasing hopes. But nothing more contributed to gain the favour of the people, than his behaviour to *Tigellinus*; who was already tortured with the apprehensions of the punishment which the whole city required as a just debt; for the common people could not bear to think that he should enjoy even the light of the sun, by whose means so many others had been deprived of it. He resided at his estate near *Sinuessa*, when *Otho* sent for him just as he was contriving his escape by means of some vessels that lay ready on the coast. Finding that the messenger would not be bribed to favour his design, he made him as large a present as if he had really connived at it, and entreated him to stay only till he had shaved; but seizing that opportunity, cut his throat with his razor.

Otho having thus endeared himself to the people, seemed to lose all remembrance of his

his own private injuries; he did not refuse to be called *Nero* in the theatre, and when some persons exposed the statues of that emperor to public view, he suffered it to pass unnoticed. But when he had thus settled the government, he was made very uneasy by the prætorian soldiers, who endeavoured to make him suspect and discountenance the nobility. Thus the emperor himself having sent orders to *Crispinus* to march the seventeenth cohort from *Ostia*, where those soldiers lay in garrison, *Crispinus*, as soon as it grew dark, began to pack up the arms in waggons, upon which some of the most turbulent exclaimed, that he had some bad intention, that the senate designed to change the government, and those arms were to be employed against the emperor. This occasioning a mutiny, they seized the waggons, and slew *Crispinus*, and two centurions for opposing them, then arming themselves, they all marched to *Rome*: where hearing that eighty of the senators were at supper with the emperor, they flew to the palace, crying that they had now an opportunity of destroying all *Otho*'s enemies at once. The citizens were alarmed with the apprehensions that the city would be immediately sacked. All in the palace were thrown into confusion, and the emperor himself was seized with consternation. He was concerned for the senators, some of whom had brought their wives with them; while they being afraid of him, stood silent, filled with anxiety, with their eyes fixed on him.

Otho ordered some of his superior officers to speak to the soldiers and compose the tumult; and at the same time had his guests let out at a back door. This was no sooner done, than the soldiers rushing into the room, asked what was become of the emperor's enemies, and it was not without many arguments, entreaties, and even tears, that *Otho* at last prevailed on them to desist.

He went the next day to the camp, and having ordered 1250 denarii to be given to each soldier, commended them for the regard they had shewn for his safety; but observed, that some of them were disaffected, and had not only abused his clemency, but misrepresented their loyal intentions, he therefore desired that they would assist him in bringing the offenders to justice. To this they readily consented, and he was satisfied with the execution of only two, who he knew would be unlamented by the whole army. Those inclined to think favourably of him, admired his behaviour; while others thought that he, out of policy, strove to accommodate himself to the circumstances of the times, and to ingratiate himself with the soldiers on account of the impending war.

It was now certainly known that *Vitellius* had assumed the sovereign authority, and expresses frequently arrived with an account of parties going over to him. But it was said that the armies in *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mysia*, adhered to *Otho*; and letters were received from *Mutianus* and *Vespasian*, générals of the

armies

armies in *Syria* and *Judea*, to assure him of their friendship. Encouraged by these letters, *Otho* wrote to advise *Vitellius* not to aspire to any thing beyond his rank, and to offer him a large sum of money, and a city in which he might spend the remainder of his life in ease and security. *Vitellius* wrote an answer filled with a civil kind of raillery; but both being afterwards thoroughly provoked, their letters contained the grossest insult and abuse. Indeed neither of them accused the other falsely; but absurdly upbraided each other with the follies of which both were equally guilty: for it was difficult to determine, which had been most profuse, debauched and effeminate, which was most ignorant in military affairs, or which most in debt.

In the mean time news was brought that *Cecina* and *Valens*, two officers under *Vitellius*, had taken possession of the passes of the *Alps*. *Dolabella* a patrician, being at that time suspected by the guards of disaffection, the emperor sent him to *Aquinum*, with assurances of his friendship; and chose some of the magistrates to attend him in the war, among whom was *Lucius* the brother of *Vitellius*, whom he distinguished by no new marks either of his favour or displeasure: but shewing a tender regard for the mother and wife of *Vitellius*, freed them from all apprehensions of his doing them an injury.

Having made *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Vespasian*, governor of *Rome*, he set out with his army; but on his arrival at *Brixillum*, a town

of Italy, situated near the *Po*, he stayed there, ordering the army to proceed under the conduct of *Marius Celsus*, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Galbus* and *Spurina*, officers of experience and reputation, but unable to enforce their orders, on account of the untractable disposition of the soldiers, who were resolved to be commanded by none but the emperor himself. Nor were those of *Vitellius* under better discipline, they being on the same account stubborn and disobedient, though they were more experienced, and patient of labour. But *Otho*'s men were entirely dissolved in sloth, minding nothing but public spectacles, and so extremely insolent, that they often refused to obey the orders of their commanders. But the contemptuous treatment the garrison at *Placentia** received, was in the present situation of affairs, of advantage to *Spurina*: for *Vitellius*'s men marching up to the very walls, upbraided *Otho*'s soldiers who stood on the ramparts, calling them players, dancers, idle spectators, of the *Olympic* and *Pythian* games, but ignorant of the art of war; wretches who triumphed in the beheading of *Galba*, an unarmed old man, but afraid to look their enemies in the face. Inflamed at these reproaches, they threw themselves at the feet of *Spurina*, entreating him to employ them, promising to decline no toil or danger; and when *Vitellius*'s forces, commanded by *Ceci-*

* The reader may see a description of this city in *The World Displayed*, vol. xix. pag. 4.

nus, vigorously attacked the town, they repulsed them with great slaughter, and thus kept possession of one of the most flourishing cities in Italy.

Cecina on being repulsed at *Placentia*, laid siege to *Cremonia**, a large and rich city. In the mean while *Annius Gallus* marching to join *Spurina* at *Placentia*, heard that the siege was raised, and *Cremona* invested; on which he hastened to its relief and encamped near the enemy, where he was daily reinforced. Cecina had concealed a strong body of foot in some woody places, ordering the horse to advance, and if they should be charged by the enemy, to retreat slowly and draw them into the ambush; but some deserters discovering the stratagem to *Celsus*, he advanced with his cavalry against Cecina's, and on their retreating pursued them so cautiously, that he dispersed those who lay in ambush, and had the legions he ordered to advance from the camp, come up soon enough to support the horse, Cecina's whole army would probably have been totally defeated: but *Pavlinus* moving too slowly, was accused of treachery by the soldiers; who maintained that the victory was in their power, and the mismanagement of that general prevented its being complete. *Otbo* did not so much believe these accusations, as endeavour to seem willing not to disbelieve

* The reader may see a concise description of the present state of this city, in *The World Displayed*, vol. xix. pag. 5.

them.

them. He therefore sent his brother *Titianus* with *Proculus* captain of his guards, to the army, where he caused the latter to be general in reality, but the former was so in appearance: while *Celsus* and *Paulinus* were entitled friends and counsellors, without having any authority in things of moment. In the mean time there were great tumults among the enemy: for the soldiers of *Valens* being informed of what had happened at the ambuscade, were enraged at their not being present to save the lives of their companions. Upon this occasion *Valens* was in great danger, for they began to throw stones at him, and it was with difficulty that he at last pacified them.

Otho about this time came to the camp at *Bebriacum*, a town near *Cremona*, where, calling a council of war, *Proculus* and *Titianus* were for giving the enemy battle, because the soldiers were flushed with their late success, and it was expected that *Vitellius* would soon arrive from *Gaul*. But *Paulinus* urged that *Otho*, by deferring the engagement, might be joined by a large reinforcement out of *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, and that this junction would add to the courage and resolution of his troops; and that as they were sufficiently provided with all necessaries, this delay could be attended with no ill consequences, though it would distress the others who were in an enemy's country. However the opinion of those who declared for a battle prevailed: for the emperor's guards disliking

king the strict military discipline, to which they were unaccustomed, and longing for the diversions of *Rome*, would not be restrained, imagining that on the first charge they should carry all before them. It also appears that *Otho* himself being unused to the thoughts of danger, could not bear the pain of uncertainty, and therefore shut his eyes, and, like a person going to leap from a precipice, blindly committed himself to fortune. But instead of staying with the army, imprudently returned to *Brixillum*, though his presence would have greatly animated his soldiers, and his army was weakened, by his taking with him some of his best troops for his horse and foot guards.

About this time *Cecina* attempting to lay a bridge over the *Po*, some of the emperor's forces attacked those engaged in the work; but being repulsed, threw lighted torches and Sulphur into some boats, which by means of the wind and the current were soon carried into the midst of the enemy. There soon arising a great smoke, which was followed by the bursting out of a violent flame, *Cecina*'s men overset their boats, and leapt into the river, where they were exposed to their enemies, who laughed at their confusion and distress. Mean while the *Germans* charged *Otho*'s gladiators, who were posted on a small island, and routed them with great slaughter. This enraging the emperor's forces at *Bebriacum*, they marched out, under the command of *Proculus*, to a place at fifty furlongs distance, where

where they encamped, but the place was so absurdly chosen, that though it was spring, and the country full of running streams, they suffered extremely for want of water.

The next day it was proposed to march against the enemy, which was opposed by *Paulinus*, who thought it imprudent to engage the enemy, who had leisure to draw up in order, while his forces were incumbered with their train and baggage. But an end was put to this debate by the arrival of a *Numidian* courier, with orders from *Otho* to come immediately to a battle, upon which they instantly began their march towards the enemy, who were at about a hundred furlongs distance. *Cecina* having notice of this, was seized with terror, and leaving the bridge unfinished, hasted to the camp. *Vaiens* in the mean time ordered his men to their arms, and, giving the signal to engage, posted his best cavalry in the front, till they were all drawn up. The foremost ranks of *Otho*'s troops, from a groundless rumour, imagined, that the officers on the other side would come over to them, and therefore they saluted them with the familiar title of fellow soldiers; but this salutation being returned with expressions of contempt, not only discouraged them, but rendered their courage suspected. This occasioned a confusion at the first charge. All order was instantly at an end. The incumbrance of the baggage, and the many ditches and inequalities of the ground, obliged both armies to break their ranks, and fight in small parties,

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parties, and there were only two legions, one belonging to *Vitellius*, and the other to *Otho*, which having gained an open plain, engaged in a regular battle. The soldiers of the former had great experience, but were old, and past their vigour; and the latter consisting of brave and robust men, who had never been in an engagement before, charged briskly, broke the first rank with great slaughter, and took the eagle. The other legion filled with rage and shame, returned the charge, and having slain *Orbidius*, the commander of *Otho*'s legion, took several standards. Mean while *Varus Alphenus* with a body of the *Batavi*, the natives of an island formed by the *Rhine*, who are esteemed the best of the German cavalry, rushed on the gladiators, who were famed for their bravery, and their manner of fighting hand to hand. Some of these stood firm; but most of them flying towards the river, fell in with the cohorts, and were cut to pieces. None however behaved so ill as the prætorian bands: who fled without ever facing the enemy, and breaking through those of their own army that yet stood their ground, threw them into confusion. Yet many of *Otho*'s men bravely bore down all before them, and forced their way through the midst of the conquerors to the camp.

All these scattered parties were received into the city by *Annius Gallus*, who encouraged them, by observing that they were so far from being entirely defeated, that the victory was, in

in some measure on their side. However, *Marius Celsus* assembling the principal officers, told them, that if *Otho* was a man of humanity he would not, after such an expence of *Roman* blood, attempt any thing farther. Adding, that though all men are equally subject to the caprices of Fortune, good men have one advantage which she cannot deprive them of, the power of acting reasonably under their misfortunes. The officers approving this discourse, sounded the soldiers, and finding them desirous of peace, *Titianus* proposed that commissioners should be named, in order to enter into a treaty, and it was agreed that *Celsus* and *Gallus* should set out in order to confer with *Valens* and *Cecina*. These met on the road some centurions of the other party, who told them, that their army was marching towards *Bebriacum*, and that their generals had sent them with proposals for an accommodation; upon which *Celsus* prevailed on them to return, and conduct him to *Cecina*. Upon his approach he was in no small danger from the horse that had suffered in the ambuscade, who advancing before the rest of the army, no sooner saw him, than giving a great shout, they came down upon him, but the centurions and other officers interposed, and *Cecina* coming up, soon quelled the tumult, after which he went with *Celsus* to *Bebriacum*.

Titianus now repenting of his having proposed this deputation, posted the most resolute of his men on the walls; but *Cecina* no sooner rode up to the city, and held out his

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hand to them, than the gates were opened, nothing was heard but mutual congratulations, and all took the oaths to *Vitellius*.

Otho at first received only uncertain accounts of the consequences of the battle; but some of the wounded soldiers joining him, and giving a true relation of what had passed, his friends took great pains to remove his concern. The fidelity of some of his soldiers exceeds all belief, they neither would go over to the conqueror, in order to make terms for themselves, nor quit the conquered, but crowding his gates, still gave him the title of emperor. They kissed his hand, they fell at his feet, they entreated him with tears in their eyes not to forsake them, but to accept of their duty and fidelity, which should continue as long as life. They all joined in these supplications, and a private soldier drawing his sword, cried, "By this, *Cæsar*, "judge of our fidelity; for there is not a "man among us but would strike thus to "serve thee," and then stabbed himself. But *Otho*, with a steady and serene countenance, said, "This day, my fellow-citizens, "which affords me such proofs of your affection, is preferable to that on which you "saluted me emperor. But do not refuse me "the still greater satisfaction of laying down "my life for the preservation of so many "brave men. If I am worthy of the *Roman* "empire, it becomes me to die for my country, I am sensible that the enemy have not "gained a decisive victory. I have received

“ advice that the *Myrian* army is not far off ;
“ that the forces in *Asia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and
“ *Judea* declare for us : the senate is also in
“ our power, as well as the wives and chil-
“ dren of our enemies. But we do not fight
“ in defence of *Italy* with *Hannibal*, with
“ *Pyrrhus*, or with the *Cimbri* ; but *Romans*
“ are fighting against *Romans*, and both the
“ victors and the vanquished distress their
“ country, while the success of the conqueror
“ tends to her ruin. I therefore think it less
“ glorious to reign, than to die for my coun-
“ try : nor can I see how *Rome* can gain
“ so much by my being victorious, as by my
“ death, since it is this that must seal our
“ peace, and secure the tranquility of *Italy*.”

Then refusing to listen to any of their per-
suasions, he took leave of his friends, and of
the senators who were present, and wrote to
those who were absent, and also to the several
cities, ordering them to give an honourable
reception to his friends, and to provide for
the security of their journey. He then sent
for young *Cocceius*, his brother's son, and bid
him not fear *Vtellius*, whose family he had
treated with the same tenderness as his
own. Telling him, that out of regard to his
safety, he had deferred his adoption, since
if he had been conqueror, he would gladly
have shared his good fortune with him, tho'
he would not have him partake of his ruin if
he were vanquished. Adding, that he charged
him neither entirely to forget, nor to strong-
ly to remember that *Cæsar* was his uncle.

After-

Afterwards hearing a tumult among the soldiers at the door, who threatened to kill the senators for leaving the emperor, he appeared again, but had now an angry and menacing countenance, at which the soldiers were so terrified, that they instantly retired.

In the evening being thirsty, he drank a little water, and examining the points of two daggers, laid one of them down, and put the other under his arm. Then calling his servants, he distributed some money amongst them, giving to some more, and to others less; thus judiciously distinguishing the different degrees of their merit; and having dismissed them, passed the rest of the night in so profound a sleep, that he was heard to snore. In the morning calling for his freedman, whom he had ordered to take care of the senators, bid him go and enquire about them, and being told that they were gone, and were provided with all they wanted; ordered him to shew himself to the soldiers, lest they should cut him to pieces for being accessory to his death. When he was gone, *Otho* holding the dagger with the point upwards, in both his hands, fell upon it, and giving a groan expired.

The attendants, without hearing him groan, burst into loud lamentations, which soon spread through the camp and the city. The soldiers running with the most passionate outcries to the gate of the palace, upbraided themselves for their negligence in guarding a life, resigned for their preservation.

tion. None would quit the body to save themselves from the approaching enemy; but raising a funeral pile, and magnificently adorning the body, bore it thither, each striving to assist in carrying the bier. Some kneeling kissed the wound; others grasped his hand; the rest prostrating themselves, worshipped him at a distance, and several, after the pile was lighted, sacrificed themselves. Having buried his ashes, they erected him a tomb, which was extremely plain, and had only this inscription, “To the memory of *Marcus Otbo*.”

Thus died *Otbo* in the thirty-seventh year of his age, after a reign of about three months: his death was as much applauded as his life was censured. The soldiers were much offended with *Pollio*, one of the chief officers of the guards, for advising them to swear allegiance to *Vitellius*. When finding that some of the senators were in the city, they took no notice of the rest, but went in a body to the house of *Virginius Rufus*, and entreated him to accept of the empire. But he who refused to command them when conquerors, thought it ridiculous to do it now they were defeated; he therefore slipped out at a private door, which was no sooner known to the soldiers, than they went and took the oath to *Vitellius*.

The END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.

